



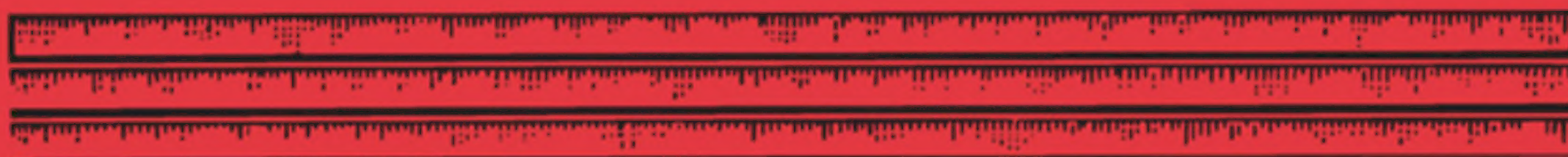
TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND DISCUSSION

# PHAENIAS OF ERESUS

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY STUDIES  
IN CLASSICAL HUMANITIES

VOLUME XIX

EDITED BY  
OLIVER HELLMANN  
AND DAVID MIRHADY





# PHAENIAS OF ERESUS



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Translation, and Discussion XVIII*



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## Preface

In cooperation with the Department of Classical Philology of the University of Trier (Germany), Project Theophrastus met for its 17<sup>th</sup> biennial conference over four very pleasant days, July 24–27, 2011, in Trier, welcoming old friends and new, this time to discuss in detail Phaenias of Eresus, a friend and compatriot of Theophrastus as well as a member of the ‘School of Aristotle.’ The theme of the conference, *Phaenias of Eresus and the Early Peripatos: Specialization and Differentiation in Research*, reflected both Phaenias’ wide range of interests and the fact that he worked among a team of scholars whose specific research areas reflected the orientation of the Peripatos and its founder Aristotle, as well as their own interests.

Hosts for the conference were Prof. Dr. Georg Wöhrle and apl. Prof. Dr. Oliver Hellmann (University of Trier), who joined Prof. Dr. William W. Fortenbaugh (Rutgers University, New Brunswick, USA) and Prof. Dr. David Mirhady (Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, Canada) in organizing the program.

The focus was on Phaenias’ major fields of research, natural sciences, as well as historiography and biography. Beyond that, papers investigated specializations and differentiations of research in the early Peripatos and their influence on the creation of new literary genres in Hellenistic times. The contents of this volume are the edited proceedings of that conference. They include a new edition of the source texts for Phaenias, with an English translation, by Johannes Engels (Cologne). There were four main sessions:

- 1: Phaenias and the Peripatos;
- 2: Biography and Historiography;
- 3: Natural Sciences;
- 4: Specialization and Differentiation of Research in the Early Peripatos.

The conference ended with a festive dinner, which was held at the *Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier*, among a stunning array of ancient artifacts.



## viii Preface

As readers will see already from glancing at the Table of Contents, agreement regarding the spelling of Phaenias' name has not been reached: Phainias, Phaenias, and Phantias are all possible.

For their help at the conference and with the production of this volume we would like to thank Domingo Aviles (Burnaby), David Hecken (Trier), Bernhard Luithle (Trier), Steffen Schmieke (Heidelberg), and Katrin Reiter (Trier).

Special thanks are due to the VolkswagenStiftung for its support of the conference and of this volume and to Dr. Thomas Brunotte, who attended the conference as a representative of the VolkswagenStiftung.

*David Mirhady and Oliver Hellmann*  
*February 2015*

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# 1

## Phaenias of Eresus The Sources, Text and Translation

*Johannes Engels*

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## 2      Phaenias of Eresus

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## INTRODUCTION

No ancient *bios* or *Life* of Phaenias of Eresus has been preserved, even though there are several interesting biographies on other early disciples of Aristotle, for instance, in Diogenes Laertius' collection *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, book 5. Moreover, because of the extreme scarcity of reliable testimony (see **1–10** below) it is unfortunately almost impossible to write a biographical sketch of Phaenias' life. Ancient sources call this Peripatetic scholar either 'Φαινίας' or 'Φανίας' in the Attic spelling of this name (see *LGPN* v.1, p.452, for the Lesbian form of this name Phainias, and *LGPN* v.2, p.440–441, for the Attic form Phantias). In this collection the modern English translation Phaenias is preferred (as it is, e.g., in the *OCD* s.v. Phaenias). We also do not know the precise dates of his birth and death. The years ca. 376 to 373 B.C., which have been established by way of synchronisms with dates on Alexander the Great or calculations of Phaenias' *acme*, perhaps in 336–332 B.C., and which have been accepted once again in G. Wöhrle and L. Zhmud's recent revision of F. Wehrli on Phaenias in *GGPh*<sup>2</sup> 2004.588–590, esp. 588, are far from certain, and, for instance, in the commentary on Phaenias' biographical and historical fragments in *FGrH* IV A 1 1012, p. 290, J. Engels suggested a later date for his birth, in the 360s B.C. The same holds true for the date of Phaenias' death. We now know for certain that he was still alive, when his teacher Aristotle died in Chalcis in 322 B.C. (see **8–9**), and scholars often surmise that Phaenias himself passed away in the early years of Aristotle's successors and that he was most probably dead when Theophrastus of Eresus, his friend and Aristotle's successor as head of the Peripatos, died in 287/6 B.C. From **1** we merely learn that Phaenias was active as a scholar and writer in the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (= 336–332 B.C.)—perhaps this was the accepted *floruit* in the sources of the *Suda*—and afterwards, during the reign of Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.). It has been surmised that Phaenias' fellow-citizen and friend Theophrastus (**2**) introduced him to Aristotle when the great philosopher visited Mytilene on Lesbos in 345/44 B.C. In the 340s, or more probably the late 330s, Phaenias and Theophrastus actively took part in fighting and in abolishing a tyranny in their hometown (see **6–7**), and we also learn of a correspondence between Theophrastus and Phaenias (see **3–5**). Whether the fragments from Phaenias' *On Plants* (cf. **41–55**) may be accepted as reliable



#### 4 Phaenias of Eresus

evidence of the hypothesis that Phaenias himself regularly delivered lectures and taught at the Peripatos in Athens along with Aristotle, or later on with Theophrastus, remains an open question.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately no ancient catalogue of Phaenias' works has been preserved either. Several titles are mentioned by different ancient authors, and I mention here only those texts in this collection where the title is explicitly stated. For the complete list of titles see the concordances to Wehrli and *FGrH* below, namely

Κατηγορίαι / Categories (**11, 12?**)

Περὶ ἑρμηνείας / On Interpretation (**11**)

Ἀναλυτικά / Analytics (**11**)

Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς / Against the Sophists (**15**)

Πρὸς Διόδωρον / Against Diodorus (**14**)

Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν / On the Socratics (**36**)

Περὶ ποιητῶν / On Poets (**38**)

Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας / The Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge (**18–19**)

Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων / On the Tyrants of Sicily (**16**)

Πρυτάνεις Ἐρεσίων / The Prytaneis at Eresus (**22A**)

Περὶ φυτῶν or Φυτικά / On Plants (**42–44, 48–49, 53**)

Other important texts (**26–35**) deal with biographical and historical issues mainly connected with Solon and Themistocles, but unfortunately without any precise indication of the title of Phaenias' original work(s), or with *Mirabilia* topics (**39–40**).

From this brief overview we can clearly observe the broad scope of Phaenias' scholarly interests, which stretched from strictly philosophical treatises to chronology and the history of philosophy and poetry, to the lives, fortunes, and manners of death of tyrants, to biographical and historical themes and famous Athenians, to botanical and zoological issues, and even entertaining, 'novelistic' stories and strange reports (*Mirabilia*). Phaenias shared this broad scholarly interest with several other early Peripatetics, among them his friend Theophrastus (as well as Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus). Now we can only regret that the number of fragments that stem from any of the above mentioned

<sup>1</sup> See on the current scholarly opinion about Phaenias' biography Sollenberger and Fortenbaugh in this volume.

works is much too small to attempt a confident reconstruction of any of Phaenias' works, and sometimes even too small to draw *any* certain conclusions at all (e.g. about Phaenias' peculiar style, or his personal views). It appears to be unnecessary to dwell any longer on any of these works in this brief introduction, since they are all thoroughly discussed in the scholarly essays that accompany this edition. These papers are the result of a truly inspiring and rewarding international conference on Phaenias and early Peripatetic research at the University of Trier in the summer of 2011.

The general structure of this collection follows the examples and the general model given in the earlier published volumes of the *RUSCH* series. Hence, the present collection differs in several respects from the four major earlier collections of Phaenias' texts. The first two 19<sup>th</sup>-century collections, by A. Voisin, *Diatribē academica in auguralis de Phania Eresio philosopho Peripatetico*, Diss. Gent 1824, and K. Müller in his *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Paris 1878, v.2, pp. 293–301, are of course today outdated. They were superseded already by F. Wehrli's collection in *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, Basel – Stuttgart<sup>2</sup> 1969, *SdA* Heft IX, p.7–43. The present editor himself collected, translated, and commented on a substantial number of Phaenias' historical and biographical fragments in the continuation project of F. Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, *FGrH* IV.A.1 1012, Leiden – Boston – Cologne 1998, pp. 266–351. In the present new comprehensive collection, he has imitated the example of earlier editors in this series and adopted as a rule the practice of not going far beyond the immediate passage referring to Phaenias. However, the problem of separating text and context (or sometimes also of distinguishing a 'cover-text') remains a difficult task for any modern collection of ancient texts. In some cases the size of the Greek texts given in this collection differs from Wehrli's. All texts that were included by Wehrli may also be found in this collection, although in some instances they have been assigned to different works. The total number of texts presented in this *RUSCH* collection has luckily risen compared with Wehrli's earlier *SdA* (see the concordances). *Inter alia* this brings about interesting additional pieces of knowledge about Phaenias' biography and his works. The *apparatus criticus* to each text has been restricted to the most necessary pieces of information, while the second *apparatus* of testimonies often provides more generous information than readers find in Wehrli's collection. In



this collection, I follow the established practice of the *RUSCH* series not to differentiate strictly between a testimony and a fragment (see the introductory remarks of W.W. Fortenbaugh et al. in *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought, and Influence*, *Philosophia antiqua* 54.1, Leiden – New York – Köln 1992 repr. 1993, p.7), as for instance F. Jacoby used to do in his collection *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (in this collection abbreviated as *FGrH*) with his strict separation of *testimonia* and *fragmenta*. The English translations in the present collection are followed by brief notes, which should primarily facilitate the immediate understanding of the texts. These notes do not attempt to replace a detailed commentary on a single text or group of texts, nor can they be a substitute for a thorough scholarly discussion of the many problems presented by most of these texts. Again, I would like to refer readers to the accompanying comprehensive collection of studies on Phaenias.

This edition has greatly benefited from communication with many colleagues at the Trier conference and since who have sent me useful suggestions on single texts or on bibliographical issues and who prevented me from making many mistakes. I would like to mention among many others especially Tiziano Dorandi, William Fortenbaugh, Oliver Hellmann, David Mirhady, Jan Opsomer, and Eckart Schütrumpf. I warmly thank all these experts and colleagues for their help and encouragement.

Coloniae ad Rhenum Kal.Feb. anni MMXV

Johannes Engels

## ABBREVIATIONS USED

## A. General

a.	ante
add.	addidit
adn.	adnotatio, note
ad loc.	ad locum
alt.	alter(a)
ap.	apud
cap.	caput
cf. / cp.	confer
cod.	codex
codd.	codices, codicum
col.	column(a)
coll.	collatio, collatis
comment.	commentarium, commentarius
corr.	correxerit
del.	delevit
dub.	dubitatur; dubitans
emend.	emendavit
fl.	floruit
fort.	fortasse
fr. / F / Fr.	fragmentum (-ta)
ibid.	ibidem
id.	idem
l.	line(a)
l.l.	locus laudatus / loco laudato
mg.	margo / marginal
om.	omissum / omittitur / omittuntur
p.	pagina
post.	posterior
propos.	proposuit
rell.	reliqui, reliquae
schol.	scholion
sec.	secundum
sim.	simile, similia
sqq.	sequentes
suppl.	supplevit
Suppl.	supplementum
s.v.	sub voce
T	Testimonium
term. a./ p.qu.	terminus ante / post quem
tit.	titulus
t.	tomus



## 8 Phaenias of Eresus

vid.	vide
v. / vols.	volumen (volume), volumina (volumes)

### B. Abbreviations of Collections, Monographs, and Periodicals

Berve, Tyrannis	H. Berve, <i>Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen</i> , 2 vols., München 1967
BNJ	I. Worthington et al. (ed.), <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> , Leiden 2006– (Internet publication, see <a href="http://www.brillonline.nl">www.brillonline.nl</a> )
BT	<i>Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana</i> , Leipzig – Stuttgart
CAG	<i>Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca</i> , 18 vols., Berlin 1883–1909
Callimachus Pfeiffer	R. Pfeiffer, <i>Callimachus</i> , 2 vols., Oxford 1949–1953
DK	H. Diels / W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 3 vols., Zürich <sup>12</sup> 1966
Döring	K. Döring, <i>Die Megariker. Kommentierte Sammlung der Testimonien</i> , Amsterdam 1972
DPhA	R. Goulet et al. (ed), <i>Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques</i> , vols. 1–5.2, Paris 2000–2012, and Supplément 2003
EGF	G. Kinkel, <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , Leipzig 1877
FGE	D.L. Page, <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> , Cambridge 1981
FGrH / FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , parts I–III, 8 vols., Berlin – Leiden 1923–1958 and G. Schepens et al. (ed.) part IV A, Leiden 1998–
FHG	K. (and Th.) Müller, <i>Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols., Paris 1841–1870
FHS&G	W.W. Fortenbaugh et al., <i>Theophrastus of Eresus Sources for his Life, Thought and Influence</i> , 2 vols., Leiden – New York – Köln 1992 repr. 1993
Fontenrose	J. Fontenrose, <i>The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses</i> , Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1978
Gaiser	K. Gaiser, <i>Philodems Academica. Die Berichte über Platon und die Alte Akademie in zwei herkulanensischen Papyri</i> , Supplementum Platonicum 1, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1988
GGPh	H. Flashar (ed.), <i>Die Philosophie der Antike</i> , Band 3: <i>Ältere Akademie – Aristoteles – Peripatos</i> , Basel – Stuttgart 1983, esp. F. Wehrli, <i>Der Peripatos bis zum Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit § 24. Phainias von Eresos, Chamaileon, Praxiphanes</i> , 552–554
GGPh <sup>2</sup>	H. Flashar (ed.), <i>Die Philosophie der Antike</i> , Band 3: <i>Ältere Akademie – Aristoteles – Peripatos</i> , Basel 2004, esp. F. Wehrli, G. Wöhrle, and L. Zhmud, <i>Der Peripatos bis zum Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit, § 23 Phainias aus Eresos</i> , 588–590 and 655
Giannantoni	G. Giannantoni, <i>Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae</i> , 4 vols., Napoli 1990

Hansen, Inventory	M.H. Hansen et al., <i>An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis</i> , Oxford 2004
Labarre	G. Labarre, <i>Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale</i> , Paris 1996
LCL	<i>The Loeb Classical Library</i> , Cambridge, Mass. – London
LGPN	<i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , esp. v. I, P.M. Fraser – E. Matthews, <i>The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica</i> , Oxford 1987, and v. II, M.J. Osborne – S.G. Byrne, <i>Attica</i> , Oxford 1994
LSJ	H.G. Liddell / R. Scott / H.S. Jones / R. McKenzie. <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1940 <sup>9</sup> repr. 1996; with a Revised Supplement 1996
Montoneri, Megarici	L. Montoneri, <i>I Megarici, studio storico-critico e traduzione delle testimonianze antiche</i> , Catania 1984
PAA	J.S. Traill et al., <i>Persons of Ancient Athens</i> , Toronto 1994–
PCG	R. Kassel – C. Austin, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , 8 vols., Berlin – New York 1983–2001
PHerc.	<i>Papyri Herculaneenses</i>
PMG	D.L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , Oxford 1962
RUSCH	W.W. Fortenbaugh, senior editor, <i>Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities</i> , New Brunswick – London
SdA	F. Wehrli, <i>Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar</i> , 10 vols., Basel – Stuttgart <sup>2</sup> 1967–1969
Schneider, Nicandrea	O. Schneider, <i>Nicandrea: Theriaca et Alexipharmaca</i> , Leipzig 1856
Stephanis	I.E. Stephanis, <i>Dionysiakoi Technitai</i> , Herakleion 1988
Schweighäuser	J. Schweighäuser, <i>Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas</i> , 9 vols., Strassburg 1801–1807
TrGF	B. Snell / R. Kannicht / S. Radt, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 5 vols., Göttingen 1971–2004
Wehrli	F. Wehrli, <i>Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar, Heft IX Phainias von Eresos, Chamaileon, Praxiphanes</i> , Basel – Stuttgart <sup>2</sup> 1969

### Editions used of the texts of Phaenias T 1 – 58

Alex. Aphr.	M. Hayduck, <i>Alexander Aphrodisiensis</i> , In <i>Aristotelis Metaphysica commentaria</i> , CAG vol. 1, Berlin 1891 M. Wallies, <i>Alexander Aphrodisiensis In Analytica priora Aristotelis commentarium</i> , CAG vol. 2.1, Berlin 1883
Anonym. Comm.	<i>Commentaria in Porphyrii Isagogen</i> , in: V. Rose, <i>Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus</i> , Leipzig 1863
Antig. Caryst.	O. Musso, [Antigonos Carystius], <i>Rerum mirabilium collectio</i> , Napoli 1985
Ath.	G. Kaibel, <i>Athenaei Naucratis Dipnosophistarum libri XV</i> , 3 vols., BT, vols. 1–2 Leipzig 1887, v. 3 Leipzig 1890 S. Douglas Olson, <i>Athenaeus, The Learned Banqueters, Books I–III.106e</i> , v. I, LCL 204, Cambridge Mass. – London 2006



## 10 Phaenias of Eresus

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12      Phaenias of Eresus

VITA ET OPERA

1      Suda, Lexicon Φ 73 s.v. Φανίας ἢ Φαινίας (LG t.4 p.696.20–22 Adler)

1 W      Φανίας ἢ Φαινίας, Ἐρέσιος, φιλόσοφος Περιπατητικός,  
T 1 E      Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητής. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ριᾶς ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ μετέπειτα, ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνο.

1 *Αἰρέσιος codd. : Ἐρέσιος editio Basiliensis*

2      Strabo, Geographica 13.2.4 C. 618 (t.3 p.626.11–12 Radt)

2 W      ἐξ Ἐρέσου δ' ἦσαν Θεόφραστός τε καὶ Φανίας οἱ ἐκ τῶν  
T 2 E      Περιπάτων φιλόσοφοι, Ἀριστοτέλους γνώριμοι.

1 *Theophr. 2 FHS&G*

1 *Ἐρεσσοῦ Radt : Ἐρέσου Meineke*

3      Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.50 (p.377.287 Do-  
randi = p.344.13–14 Marcovich)

3 W      ἐπιστολαὶ (scil. Θεοφράστου) αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀστυκρέοντι,  
T 3 E      Φανίᾳ, Νικάνορι.

1 *Theophr. 1 et 727 n. 16 FHS&G*

## LIFE AND WORK

- 1** Suda, Φ 73 under *Phanias or Phaenias* (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F1)

Phanias or Phaenias of Eresus,<sup>1</sup> a Peripatetic philosopher, a disciple of Aristotle. He lived about the time of the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> and later,<sup>3</sup> during the reign of Alexander of Macedon.

<sup>1</sup> Eresus, a harbor city on the island of Lesbos, see Hansen, Inventory no. 796, p. 1023–24.

<sup>2</sup> 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (336–332 B.C.): probably this is meant to be an indication of Phaenias' *floruit*.

<sup>3</sup> And later: Aristotle's death in 322 B.C. is the latest secure *terminus post quem* for the year of Phaenias' death, see **8–9** below. On Phaenias' life and works see *GGPh* v.3, 1983, p.552–554 F. Wehrli, *GGPh*<sup>2</sup> 2004, p.588–590 F. Wehrli, G. Wöhrle, and L. Zhmud. Most recently, see *DPhA* 5.1 P 90 (2012), p.266–273 J.-P. Schneider. See also Sollenberger and Fortenbaugh in this volume.

- 2** Strabo, *Geography* 13.2.4

Theophrastus and Phaenias, the Peripatetic philosophers and acquaintances of Aristotle, were both from Eresus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text provides an example of a typical Strabonian list of '*andres endoxoi*' or men of high reputation who came from a certain polis. See on Phaenias and Eresus also **1**, **6** and **7**. A *DPhA* article on Theophrastus of Eresus (c. 371/70–287/86 B.C.), Aristotle's successor as head of the Peripatos, is still missing in 2013. See, however, *DNP* 12.1 (2002), p.385–393 W.W. Fortenbaugh – J.M. van Ophuijsen; "*gnorimoi*" does not necessarily imply that these two were especially famous among the other early pupils and acquaintances. On Eresus as Theophrastus' hometown, cf. Theophrastus 1.1, 252B, 371, 728 FHS&G; cf. *inter alia* Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* s.v. *Eresos*; *Vita Arist. Marciana* 82–83 Düring; *Vita Arist. Latina* 18 Düring; *Vita Arist. Vulgata* 17 Düring.

- 3** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.50

Letters (*scil.* of Theophrastus) to Astycreon, Phaenias and Nicanor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the very long catalogue of Theophrastus' works; for the correspondence, see also **4** below. Astycreon, a rare name, has no entry in *DPhA*, nor in *RE*. Nicanor: no entry in *DPhA*; several people named Nicanor are known in the late 4th c. B.C.



1 ἐπὶ BPF : ἐπι<γραφόμεναι> coni. Usener

- 4 Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 5.37–38 (p.367.18–368.29 Dorandi = p.332.16 – 333.9 Marcovich)

4 W οὔτος (*scil.* ὁ Θεόφραστος) τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ περὶ δεικτηρίου  
T 4 E τοιαῦτα διείλεκται ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φανίαν τὸν Περιπατητικὸν  
ἐπιστολῇ· “οὐ γὰρ ὅτι πανήγυριν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συνέδριον  
ῥάδιον, οἷόν τις βούλεται, λαβεῖν· αἱ δ' ἀναγνώσεις ποι-  
οῦσιν ἐπανορθώσεις· τὸ δ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι πάντα καὶ ἀμε- 5  
λεῖν οὐκέτι φέρουσιν αἱ ἡλικίαι.” ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ  
38 σχολαστικὸν ὠνόμακε. τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν, ὅμως πρὸς ὀλίγον  
ἀπεδήμησε καὶ οὔτος καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ φιλόσοφοι, Σο-  
φοκλέους τοῦ Ἀμφικλείδου νόμον εἰσενεγκόντος μηδένα  
τῶν φιλοσόφων σχολῆς ἀφηγεῖσθαι ἂν μὴ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ 10  
δήμῳ δόξῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν.

1 Theophr. 1 FHS&G 8–11 Poll. Onom. 9.42; Alexis Comicus fr. 99 PCG  
apud Ath. Deipnos. 508F et 610E–F

1 δικαστερίου codd. FP, Long : δεικτηρίου B<sup>2</sup> Wehrli / Marcovich / Dorandi:  
διδασκαλίου Wyse : διδακτηρίου Apelt 7 σχολαστικὸν <αὐτὸν> Menagius  
(<ἐαν-> Wehrli)

who came from Macedonia or were in close contact with Alexander or one of the successors. See already Berve, *Alexanderreich*, v.2, nos. 553–561. However, none of the prominent political and military persons named Nicanor is known to have been in personal contact with Theophrastus during Alexander’s campaign, esp. after the death of Callisthenes, when relations between Alexander and the whole Peripatos rapidly deteriorated. Perhaps Nicanor was the son of Proxenus of Atarneus, an adoptive son of Aristotle, who became his son-in-law. H. Berve, *Alexanderreich*, v.2, no. 557 p.276–277, and again RE 17.1 (1936), p.267–268, surmised that he might be identified with a Nicanor whom Stephanus of Byzantium calls Miezaïos (i.e. the man who came from the Macedonian city of Mieza), and that this Nicanor also brought Alexander’s famous exiles’ decree to Greece in 324 B.C. and had it read at the Olympic Games. But it seems safer to think of two different people named Nicanor. See Düring, *Aristotle*, p.270–271 no. 13.

#### 4 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.37–38

In the letter to Phaenias the Peripatetic he (*scil.* Theophrastus) has discussed, among other topics, matters concerning the lecture-hall<sup>1</sup> as follows: “To get a large gathering or even a select circle such as one desires, is not easy. Readings necessitate revisions. Putting everything off and being unconcerned is no longer tolerated by the present generation.” And in this letter he has used the term “scholastic” (*scholastikos*).<sup>2</sup> Despite being this sort of man, nevertheless he went  
38 into exile for a short time with the rest of the philosophers, when Sophocles son of Amphicleides introduced a law<sup>3</sup> that no philosopher should preside over a school unless approved by the council and the people; otherwise the penalty was death.

<sup>1</sup> On Theophrastus’ many disciples and his teaching, see Theophr. 12–18 FHS&G. A *deikterion* is iterally a place where something is shown. The word may be used of a lectern or pulpit (*ambon*) and of a lecture-hall (*akroaterion*). See, e.g., Basil of Seleucia, *On the Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla the Virgin Martyr of Iconium* 2.29 (= Migne PG 85, col. 612D–613A) and the discusssion by Sollenberger in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> It is unclear, whom exactly Theophrastus called in one of his letters a “*scholastic*.” Perhaps it was his friend Phaenias, another Peripatetic, or an adherent of another school, or even himself. Does this denote merely a scholar, or a pedantic man? Or a colleague who has a lot of *schole* (leisure time)?

<sup>3</sup> Law of Sophocles: Sophocles, son of Amphicleides of the demos Sounion, proposed it in 307/6 B.C.



16 Phaenias of Eresus

5 Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica 1.972a (p.85.11–15 Wendel)

5 W λέγεται δὲ ἴουλος καὶ ζῶόν τι, θηρίδιον πολύπουν·  
T 5 E ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ ἔχει πολλοὺς πόδας ὥσπερ ἡ σκολόπεν-  
δρα. Θεόφραστος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φανίαν ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ὄνον  
φησὶν αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι, ὥς παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Κωφοῖς  
Σατύροις· “κυλισθεὶς ὥς τις ὄνος ἰσόσπριος.” 5

1–5 *Hesych. Lex. s.v. ἴουλοι no. 762 t.2 p.368.12–13 Latte; Phot. Lex. s.v. ὄνος ἰσόσπριος et s.v. ἴουλος Porson* 1–3 *Arist. De part. an. 4.6 682a5, b3–6, Hist. an. 3.1 523b18* 1 *Nicander, Theriaca 811* 3 *Theophr. 374 FHS&G* 4 *Sophocles TrGF 363 Radt;*

5 ἰσόσπριος *Hesychius / Photius : ἰσόπριος codd.*

6 Anonymus, Vita Aristotelis Marciana 17 et 19 (p.3.79–83 et 90–91 Gigon)

6 W ὅσα δὲ πόλεις ὅλας (*scil.* εὐεργέτησεν Ἀριστοτέλης), τὰ  
T 6 E Στάγειρα δηλοῖ καὶ Ἐρεσσὸς ἡ Θεοφράστου καὶ Φανίου  
19 τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν πατρίς· ... καὶ Ἐρεσσὸν μέλλουσαν  
ὑπὸ Φιλίππου πολιορκηθῆναι ἔπεισεν ἀφεθῆναι.

7 Plutarchus, Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum 15 1097B–C (BT t.6.2 p.149.6–16 Pohlenz)

7 W τίνας οὖν οἰόμεθα καὶ πηλίκας ἡδονὰς εἶναι τὰς  
T 7 E Πλάτωνος, ὁπηνίκα Δίων ὁρμήσας ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κατέλυσε

## 5 Scholion on the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes 1.972a

*Ioulos* (woodlouse)<sup>1</sup> is the name of an animal and it is a small creature with many feet; for it has many feet on both sides of its body like the millepede. Theophrastus in his letter<sup>2</sup> to Phaenias says that this animal is also called *onos* (“ass”) as Sophocles says in his play *The Deaf Satyrs*: “He rolled up like some *onos* like a bean.”

<sup>1</sup> On the problems of identification of this species *Ioulos*, see J. Scarborough, *Nicander Theriaca 811: A Note*, *CPh* 75 (1980), p.138–140 (“a millipede, probably of the *Spirobolida*”). Different animals have been suggested.

<sup>2</sup> The correspondence between Theophrastus and Phaenias dealt not only with strictly philosophical issues (in a modern sense), but also included personal remarks and many zoological and botanical topics.

## 6 Anonymous, *Marcian Life of Aristotle* 17 and 19 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 T 6 modified)

To what extent (*scil.* Aristotle became the benefactor) of whole cities is clear from the examples of Stagira<sup>1</sup> and Eresus, the native city of his disciples Theophrastus and Phaenias. ... And when Philip was about to lay siege to Eresus<sup>2</sup>, he dissuaded him from doing so.

<sup>1</sup> On the rebuilding of Stagira (or Stagiros), see Hansen, *Inventory* no. 613 and p.844–45. After this passage Aristotle persuades king Philip II of Macedon to rebuild (before 336 B.C.) Stagira, which had been destroyed by the king in his war against Olynthus in 349/48 B.C. Other ancient sources ascribe credit for rebuilding Stagira to Alexander the Great (between 336 and 323 B.C.).

<sup>2</sup> Theophrastus’ and Phaenias’ effort to liberate Eresus from tyranny may perhaps be dated to the late 330s B.C. (see **7**). There is no known plausible context in the military career of king Philip II between 359 and 336 when he might have planned to attack Eresus (not even in 337/6 B.C.). Perhaps there is a mistake in the *Vita*, and Aristotle actually persuaded Alexander not to attack Eresus during his naval war against the Persians ca. 334–332 B.C.

## 7 Plutarch, *A Pleasant Life is Impossible Following Epicurus* 15 1097 B–C (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 T 7E)

Then how high and full must have been the pleasure Plato knew when Dion, influenced by his teachings, overthrew Dionysius<sup>1</sup> and set



## 18 Phaenias of Eresus

Διονύσιον καὶ Σικελίαν ἡλευθέρωσε; τίνας δ' Ἀριστοτέλους,  
 ὅτε τὴν πατρίδα κειμένην ἐν ἐδάφει πάλιν ἀνέστησε καὶ  
 κατήγαγε τοὺς πολίτας; τίνας δὲ Θεοφράστου καὶ Φαινίου 5  
 τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος ἐκκοψάντων τυράννους; ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ  
 ὅσοις ἐβοήθησαν ἀνδράσιν, οὐ πυροὺς διαπέμποντες οὐδ'  
 ἀλφίτων μέδιμνον, ὥς Ἐπίκουρος ἐνίοις ἔπεμψεν, ἀλλὰ  
 φεύγοντας διαπραξάμενοι κατελθεῖν καὶ δεδεμένους λυ-  
 θῆναι καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐστερημένους ἀπολαβεῖν, τί 10  
 ἂν λέγοι τις ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς εἰδόσιν;

*Cf. 6* 1–3 *cf. Plut. Dion* 22.1–30.8; *Nep. Dion* 3.1–4.2; *Diog. Laert. Vit.* 3.21.  
 3–5 *Vita Arist. vulgata* 17 *Düring* 5 *Theophr. 33A FHS&G* 5–6 *Vita Arist.*  
*latina* 18 *Düring* (*Theophrasti et Theophanii*)

5 *Φαινίου Rasmus / Sauppe / Wehrli* : *φεινίου g* : *φειδίου E*

## 8 Anonymus, Vita Latina Aristotelis 46–48 (p.157.14–18 Düring)

46 et mortuus est in Calchide (*scil.* Aristoteles) dimittens testa-  
 mentum scriptum quod fertur ab Andronico et Ptholomeo cum  
 47 voluminibus suorum tractatum. dimisit autem filium Nicoma-  
 chum et filiam Pithaida, proprios autem discipulos Theofras-  
 48 tum, Phanium, Eudimium, Clitum, Aristoxenum et Dicearchum, 5  
 tractatus autem mille numero.

3–4 *de Nicomacho cf. Sudam s.v. Νικόμαχος N* 398 4–5 *Theophr. 10*  
*no. 2 FHS&G* 5 *Aristoxenus fr. 65 Wehrli* 5 *Dicaearchus 4 Mirhady*

4–5 *nomina discipulorum turbata in multis cod. monuit Düring in apparatu*  
*1957.157*

Sicily free? Or Aristotle, when he raised again his native city<sup>2</sup>, leveled to the ground, and restored it to his countrymen? Or Theophrastus and Phaenias, who cleared away the tyrants<sup>3</sup> from their city? In private life  
C what need is there to tell you, who know it well, of the many they helped – not sending them wheat or a bushel of meal as Epicurus did to a few, but obtaining remission of banishment, release from prison, and restoration of wives and children that had been taken from them?

<sup>1</sup> Dion actually ended the rule of Dionysius II after extended fighting in 357–355 B.C. Dion's subsequent rule, however, was rejected by many Sicilians as another form of tyranny and no 'liberation' at all. Hence Dion was killed in 354. His attempts to 'liberate' Sicily led the island into anarchy and war. See *DPhA* D 167 L. Brisson.

<sup>2</sup> On Aristotle and the rebuilding of Stagira see many parallel sources in Theophrastus 33A FHS&G, e.g., *Ael. Var. Hist.* 3.17 and 12.54; *Val. Max.* 5.6.5; *Dio Chrys. Oratio* 2.79, 47.8; *Plut. Alexander* 7.2 (Plutarch ascribes it already to Philip).

<sup>3</sup> On the political engagement of Theophrastus and Phaenias, see **6**, and *Vita Arist. vulgata* 17 Düring, *Vita Arist. latina* 18 Düring; the precise date and the intensity of their fight against tyranny remains unclear, perhaps in the 330s, see G. Labarre, *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale*, Paris 1996, p.23–50 esp. 33, on the overthrow of the tyranny of Eurysilaus and Agonippus at Eresus in 332 B.C. Earlier on, three other tyrants Hermon, Heraeus and Apollodorus, ruled at least between 337 and 333 B.C. Cf. *IG XII.2.526*. See Sollenberger and Fortenbaugh in this volume.

## 8 Anonymous, *Life of Aristotle* 46–48

46 and he (*scil.* Aristotle) died<sup>1</sup> in Chalcis and left a written will, which  
has been preserved by Andronicus<sup>2</sup> and Ptolemaeus<sup>3</sup> along with the  
47 volumes of his treatises. He also left a son named Nicomachus,<sup>4</sup> a  
daughter Pythais, and as his disciples Theophrastus,<sup>5</sup> Phaenias, Eu-  
48 demus,<sup>6</sup> Clitus,<sup>7</sup> Aristoxenus<sup>8</sup> and Dicaearchus,<sup>9</sup> and also 1000 treatises.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, born 384, died in Chalcis on Euboea in 322 B.C. On Chalcis, see Hansen, *Inventory* no. 365 p.647–649. After Alexander's death in 323 the philosopher had left Athens for political reasons and went to Chalcis. There he owned a house and was protected by a Macedonian garrison in this city.

<sup>2</sup> See on Andronicus of Rhodes (*RE* no. 25) *DPhA* A 181 R. Goulet.

<sup>3</sup> On Phtolomeus (= Ptolemaeus) see perhaps *DPhA* 318 S. Toulouse; on other Hellenistic philosophers named Ptolemaeus see A. Dihle in *RE* no. 70 in *RE* 23.2 (1959), 1860–61, *RE* no. 78, *ibidem* 1862–1863 and *RE* no. 79, *ibidem* 1863. The identification remains uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> On Nicomachus (*RE* 17.1 (1936), 462–462 no. 19, K. von Fritz), a son of



9      Anonymus, Vita Aristotelis Marciana 191–197 (p.6.27–33 Gigon)

191	καὶ τελευτᾷ	
192	ἐκεῖσε διαθήκην ἔγγραφον κατα<λιπών>, ἣ φέρ<ε>ται	
193	<παρὰ τ<..> Ἄνδρον<ίκω .....18.....>	
194	τοῦ πίνα<κος τῶν> αὐτοῦ <συγγρα>μμάτων <.....6.....	
195	.....44.....	5
196	Θεοφράστῳ Φ<ανί>α<.....24.....	
197	.....11.....> συντ<άγμασι> δὲ χ<ιλί>οις <.....7.....	

6 Theophr. 10 FHS&G

10      Galenus, De indolentia 15 (p.6.18–21 Boudon-Millot / Jouanna)

τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Εὐ-  
δήμου καὶ Κλειτ<ομάχ>ου καὶ Φαινίου βιβλία καὶ Χρυ-  
σίπ<π>ου τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἰατρῶν πάντων.

2 Κλειτομάχου Κοτζία-Σωτηρώδης / Jouanna : κλίτου Vlat.    2–3 Χρυσίππου  
Boudon-Millot : Χρυσίπου Vlat

Aristotle and his *pallake* Herpyllis (?), see Düring, *Aristotle*, p.263–271; Theophrastus became Nicomachus' guardian in 322 B.C., but Nicomachus died at an early age. See *DPhA* N 51 J.–P. Schneider. There is some confusion in our sources about Pithais = Pythais, because Pythais was the name both of Aristotle's wife and of his daughter. See Düring, *Aristotle*, p.268–269 no. 11.

<sup>5</sup> On Theophrastus, see FHS&G and **2**.

<sup>6</sup> On Eudimius = Eudemus of Rhodes (*RE* Suppl. XI, 11) *DPhA* E 93 J.–P. Schneider, and I. Bodnár and W.W. Fortenbaugh (eds.), *Eudemus of Rhodes* (*RUSCH* XI), New Brunswick – London 2002.

<sup>7</sup> On Clitus = Clytus of Miletus (*RE* Kleitos no. 8) *DPhA* C 177 J.M. García González, and Jacoby *RE* 11.1 (1921), 897 and *FGrH* 490.

<sup>8</sup> On Aristoxenus of Tarentum *DPhA* A 417 B. Centrone.

<sup>9</sup> On Dicearchus = Dicaearchus of Messana *DPhA* D 98 J.–P. Schneider, and W. Fortenbaugh and E. Schütrumpf (eds.), *Dicaearchus of Messana* (*RUSCH* X), New Brunswick – London 2001.

<sup>10</sup> 1000 treatises: “thousand” here merely indicates a very great number.

## 9 Anonymous, *Marcian Life of Aristotle* 191–197

191 and he died there and left a written will<sup>1</sup>, which (is preserved ?) in Andronicus' (writings)<sup>2</sup> .....<sup>3</sup>

194 a list of his writings<sup>4</sup> ... to (?) Theophrastus, Phantias .... one thousand treatises.

<sup>1</sup> On Aristotle's death in Chalcis in 322 B.C., see **8**. On Aristotle's will, see e.g. Diog. Laert. *Lives* 5.12–16.

<sup>2</sup> Andronicus of Rhodes (see **8**) was head of the Peripatetic school ca. 70–50 B.C. He edited the major works of Aristotle and Theophrastus and wrote other philosophical treatises himself.

<sup>3</sup> Speculative suggestions on how to fill the large lacunae in the text have been made on the basis of the parallel passage in the *Vita Lat. Aristotelis* § 46–48 = **8**. See, for instance, V. Rose, *Aristotelis fragmenta*, Leipzig 1886, p.435–436.

<sup>4</sup> For a list of Aristotle's works (among many other ancient examples), see Diog. Laert. *Lives* 5.22–27.

## 10 Galen, *On Freedom from Pain or Grief* 15

And such were the books<sup>1</sup> written by Theophrastus and Aristotle and Eudemus<sup>2</sup> and Clitomachus<sup>3</sup> and Phaenias and most of the works of Chrysippus<sup>4</sup> and of all the ancient physicians<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>In this text, first published in 2005, Galen discusses his editorial work immediately before, as well as the texts that he prepared for his personal use; then he



LOGICA

Categoriae

**11**      Philoponus, In Aristotelis Categorias commentarium, prooemium  
(CAG t.13.1 p.7.16–17 et 19–22 Busse)

<sup>8 w</sup>      τρεῖς γὰρ ἀφορμαὶ γεγόνασι τοῦ νοθεύεσθαι τὰ συγ-  
16–17 γράμματα τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους.  
19      ... δευτέρᾳ  
20 δὲ ἡ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ὁμωνυμία οἱ γὰρ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ  
Εὐδήμος καὶ Φανίας  
21 καὶ Θεόφραστος κατὰ ζῆλον τοῦ διδασκάλου γεγράφασι  
Κατηγορίας καὶ Περὶ  
22 ἑρμηνείας καὶ Ἀναλυτικά.

5

5 *Eudemus*, fr. 7 Wehrli    6 *Theophr.* 71E FHS&G

**12**      Anonymus, Commentaria in Porphyrii Isag. p.1.3, cod. Laur.  
85.1 f. 17 (Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus, Leipzig 1863, p.129.  
20–21 Rose)

τὸ καὶ πρόκειται, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Φαινίας καὶ ὁ Εὐδήμος  
καὶ ὁ Θεόφραστος ἔγραψαν κατηγορίας κτλ.

2 *Theophr.* 71C FHS&G

proceeded to this text and named some examples. Perhaps the succession of authors hints at a philosophical (logical?) work of Phaenias.

<sup>2</sup> On Eudemus see **8**.

<sup>3</sup> On Clitomachus of Carthage see *RE* 11.1 (1921), 656–659 H. von Arnim, *DPhA* C 149 T. Dorandi.

<sup>4</sup> On Chrysippus of Soloi, third scholarch of the Stoa, see *DPhA* C 121 F. Queyrel, and still useful H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, Stuttgart 1903–1905; Chrysippus is the only Stoic who is mentioned here by Galen.

<sup>5</sup> Galen probably includes these famous Peripatetic and Stoic philosophers here among the “ancient physicians” in a wider sense, as he also regards himself and his learned medical colleagues as “philosophers”? Or does he clearly differentiate between ancient philosophers and ancient doctors?

## LOGICAL WRITINGS

### Categories

- 11** Philoponus, *On Aristotle’s Categories, Introduction* (transl. Theophr. 71E FHS&G)

For there were three reasons for branding the writings of Aristotle as spurious ... The second is the similarity of the titles of the writings. “For his pupils, Eudemus<sup>1</sup> and Phaenias and Theophrastus, in emulation of their teacher, wrote<sup>2</sup> (works entitled) *Categories*, and *On Interpretation*, and *Analytics*.”

<sup>1</sup> On Eudemus of Rhodes and Theophrastus of Eresus, see **8**, and cf. I.M. Bodnár – W.W. Fortenbaugh (eds.), *Eudemus of Rhodes*, *RUSCH* XI, New Brunswick 2002, p.87.

<sup>2</sup> There is still scholarly discussion as to whether we may actually accept as probable that Phaenias wrote three different treatises entitled *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, and *Analytics*.

- 12** Anonymous, *Commentary on the Isagoge of Porphyrius*

... his colleagues Phaenias, Eudemus and Theophrastus wrote *Categories*<sup>1</sup> ...

<sup>1</sup> On Aristotle’s pupils who wrote *Categories*, see e.g. Ammonius, *In Porphyrii isag.*, cod. Par. 1973 f 21b ed. V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, Leipzig 1863, p.129: πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν μαθητῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ἔγραψαν κατηγορίας, ὡς ὁ Θεόφραστος καὶ ὁ Εὐδήμος, κτλ. On Cleinias (or Clinias) of the Athenian



24 Phaenias of Eresus

1 *Κλεινίας codex : Φαινίας recte emendavit Rose*

LOGICA?

- 13 Scholion in Aristotelis De interpretatione 7 17b14 (CAG t.4.5 p.33.34–37 Busse)

πρὸς τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Θεόφραστος ὅτι ἐπὶ τινων, ἐὰν μὴ ὁ προσδιορισμὸς ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου, ἢ ἀντίφασις συναληθεύσει, οἷον, φησὶν, ἐὰν λέγωμεν “Φαινίας ἔχει ἐπιστήμην· Φαινίας οὐκ ἔχει ἐπιστήμην,” δύναται εἶναι ἀμφοτέρα ἀληθῆ· ἐγχωρεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰ τύχοι γραμματικὴν μὲν ἔχειν ἐπιστήμην, ἰατρικὴν δὲ μή. 5

1 *Theophr. 84 FHS&G*

Contra Diodorum

- 14 Alexander Aphrodisiensis, In Aristotelis Metaphysica commentaria 1(A).9 990b15 (CAG t.1 p.84.16–21 Hayduck)

9 W λέγει δὲ Φανίας ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Διόδωρον Πολύξενον τὸν σοφιστὴν τὸν τρίτον ἄνθρωπον εἰσάγειν λέγοντα “εἰ κατὰ μετοχὴν τε καὶ μετουσίαν τῆς ιδέας καὶ τοῦ αὐτοανθρώπου ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι, δεῖ τινα εἶναι ἄνθρωπον ὃς πρὸς τὴν ιδέαν ἔξει τὸ εἶναι. οὔτε δὲ ὁ αὐτοάνθρωπος, ὃ ἐστὶν ιδέα, 5 κατὰ μετοχὴν ιδέας, οὔτε ὁ τις ἄνθρωπος. λείπεται ἄλλον τινὰ εἶναι τρίτον ἄνθρωπον τὸν πρὸς τὴν ιδέαν τὸ εἶναι ἔχοντα.”

1–8 *Montoneri, I Megarici 77* 1 *Polyxenus p.166–168 Düring*

demos Skambonidai see *DPhA* D 174 L. Brisson and J.K. Davies *APF* 600 V. But V. Rose was right to suspect that this name in the cod. Laur. 85,1 f. 17 is corrupt.

## LOGICAL WRITINGS?

- 13** Scholium on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* 7 17b14 (transl. Theophr. 84 FHS&G)

On this point Theophrastus says that in some cases, if the quantifier does not apply to the predicate too, the contradictory is true as well, as for instance,<sup>1</sup> he says, if we say “Phaenias has knowledge; Phaenias does not have knowledge,” both can be true. For it is possible for him to have, perhaps, knowledge of letters, but not knowledge of medicine.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In **13** Phaenias is merely mentioned as an example that was chosen by Theophrastus. Strictly speaking, it only testifies to the friendly relationship of both philosophers.

<sup>2</sup> As a separate and extra qualification, as FHS&G note on their text 84.

## Against Diodorus

- 14** Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* 1(A).9 990b15<sup>1</sup>

Phaenias in his *Against Diodorus* states that the sophist Polyxenus introduced “the third man” (argument)<sup>2</sup>, when he said, if man exists by virtue of participation in and in communion with the form and man itself, it is necessary that there be (another) man, who will have his existence in relation to the idea. But he is not man itself who is the idea, by virtue of participation in the idea; nor is he any single man. It remains (*scil.* as the consequence) that there is some other ‘third man’ who has his existence in the relation to the form.

<sup>1</sup> There is still scholarly debate about the exact meaning of our text. Hence I offer here another expert opinion, L. Montoneri, *I Megarici*, Catania 1984, T 77, p.259–260: “Dice Fania nell’opera Contro Diodoro che il sofista Polisseno introduceva l’argomento del terzo uomo dicendo: Se l’uomo esiste per partecipazione e comunanza dell’idea e dell’uomo in sé, è necessario che ci sia un (altro) uomo il quale avrà l’essere in rapporto all’idea. Ma questi non è né l’uomo in sé, che è idea, per partecipazione dell’idea; né il singolo uomo. Resta che ci sia un terzo uomo il quale ha l’essere in rapporto all’idea.”



Contra Sophistas

**15A** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.42 638B–C (BT t.3 p.409.4–10  
Kaibel = t.7 p.230.1–7 Olson)

<sup>10</sup> W     καὶ μοχθηρῶν δὲ ἄσμάτων γεγόνασι ποιηταί, περὶ ὧν  
φησι Φαινίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς τοὺς Σοφιστὰς  
γράφων οὕτως· Τελένικος ὁ Βυζάντιος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀργᾶς ποιη-  
ταὶ μοχθηρῶν ὄντες νόμων πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα  
τῆς ποιήσεως εὐπόρουν, τῶν δὲ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Φρύνιδος 5  
νόμων οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἠδύναντο ἐπιψαῦσαι.

3 *Argas Stephanis* no. 292    3–4 *Plut. Demosthenes* 4.5    5 *Phrynis T* 7  
*Campbell* (LCL 144, p. 68)

2 αἰρέσιος A: Ἐρέσιος Kaibel / Olson

<sup>2</sup> On Polyxenus, see also K. Döring, *Die Megariker. Kommentierte Sammlung der Testimonien*, Amsterdam 1972, p.166–168, and *DPhA* P 249 R. Muller. Polyxenus’ “third man” argument attacks weak points of Plato’s ontology and his doctrines regarding the theory of forms or *ideai* (see Plato’s *Parmenides*, *Politeia* etc.). The sophist argues that Plato’s theories necessarily lead to the logical mistake of infinite regress. Phaenias’ teacher Aristotle already discussed some aspects of the topic and this “third man” argument in *Metaphysics* 1.9 (and in *Metaphysics* 10 1079a14, cf. also other versions in Aristotle’s *De Ideis*, also quoted by Alexander of Aphrodisias). Thus Phaenias here continues a line of research of his teacher. However, the precise structure of the argument, as we read it here in **14**, remains unclear (perhaps due to a corruption of the original text?), and it differs from the classical versions in Plato and Aristotle. See for some philosophical opinions G. Vlastos, “The Third Man Argument in the *Parmenides*,” *Philosophical Review* 63 (1954), 319–349, S. M. Cohen, “The Logic of the Third Man,” *Philosophical Review* 80 (1971), 448–475, and G. Fine, *On Ideas. Aristotle’s Criticism of Plato’s Theory of Forms*, Oxford 1983.

## Against the Sophists

### **15A** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 14.42 638B–C

There have also been poets who produced depraved songs. Phaenias of Eresus discusses them in his *Against the Sophists*,<sup>1</sup> where he writes the following: “Telenicus<sup>2</sup> of Byzantium, along with Argas,<sup>3</sup> was a poet who produced indecent songs; although they were successful with their own type of poetry, they were unable to come anywhere near to the songs of Terpander<sup>4</sup> and Phrynis.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The book title *Pros tous sophistas* has been translated here as *Against the Sophists*. This implies similarities between Phaenias’ work and the genre of the Greek *antigraphai*. However, alternative ways to understand the title have been proposed, for instance, *In Response to Questions Raised by the Sophists*, or *In Response to Doctrines Held by the Sophists*.

<sup>2</sup> Telenicus of Byzantium is known only from this passage; see *RE* 5 A 1 (1940), 359 E. Bernert. Cf. *Suda* T 57, s.v. *telenikesai*.

<sup>3</sup> Argas: a 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. cithara player and poet, cf. Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 4.8; Hesychius, *Lexicon* s.v. ἀργᾶς 7013 Latte; the comic poets Alexis *PCG* II, 19 and Anaxarchides *PCG* II, 16 and 42 also mention him. See also I.E. Stephanis, *Dionysiakoi Technitai*, Herakleion 1988, no. 292.

<sup>4</sup> Terpander: an outstanding musician from Lesbos, early 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC, see A. Gostoli, *Terpandro*, Rome 1990; D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric*, v.2, Cambridge Mass. – London 1988, *LCL* 143, p.294–319, esp. T 2.

<sup>5</sup> Phrynis: a famous cithara player of Lesbos, 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Campbell translates *nomoi* as “nomes” instead of songs (see above).



**15B** Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Ἀργᾶ<ς> (no. 2771, t.1 p.254.6–8 Theodoridis)

Ἀργᾶ<ς> πονηρὸς ποιητὴς κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν. μέμνηται τούτου Φανίας ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστάς. ἢ ὀφεως εἶδος.

De Siciliae tyrannis

**16** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 6.20–21 231E–232D (BT t.2 p.20.18–22.6 Kaibel = t.3 p.50.13–54.14 Olson)

καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ ἀναθήματα τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χρυσᾶ ὑπὸ πρώτου Γύγου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως ἀνετέθη καὶ πρὸ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἀνάργυρος, ἔτι δὲ ἄχρυσος ἦν ὁ Πύθιος, ὡς Φαινίας τέ φησιν ὁ Ἑρέσιος καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν. ἱστοροῦσι γὰρ οὗτοι κοσμηθῆναι τὸ Πυθικὸν ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Γύγου καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτον Κροίσου, μεθ' οὓς ὑπὸ τε Γέλωνος καὶ Ἰέρωνος τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, τοῦ μὲν τρίποδα καὶ Νίκην χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα ἀναθέντος καθ' οὓς χρόνους Ξέρξης ἐπεστράτευε τῇ Ἑλλάδι, τοῦ δ' Ἰέρωνος τὰ ὅμοια. λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ Θεόπομπος· “ἦν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ ἱερὸν κεκοσμημένον χαλκοῖς ἀναθήμασιν, οὐκ ἀνδριᾶσιν ἀλλὰ λέβησι καὶ τρίποσι χαλκοῦ πεποιημένοις. Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὖν χρυσῶσαι βουλόμενοι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ οὐκ εὐρίσκοντες ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι χρύσιον πέμψαντες [εἰς θεοῦ] ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν παρ' οὗ χρυσίον πρίαιντο. ὃ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλεν παρὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδοῦ πορευθέντας ὠνεῖσθαι [παρ' ἐκείνου] καὶ οἱ πορευθέντες παρὰ Κροίσου ὠνήσαντο. Ἰέρων δ' ὁ Συρακόσιος βουλόμενος ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὴν Νίκην ἐξ ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπορῶν χρυσίου ὕστερον ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἀναζητήσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἵτινες μόλις ποτ' εἰς Κόρινθον ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ἐξιχνεύσαντες εὔρον παρ' Ἀρχιτέλει τῷ Κορινθίῳ, ὃς πολλῷ χρόνῳ συνωνούμενος κατὰ μικρὸν θησαυροὺς εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγους. ἀπέδοτο γοῦν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ὅσον ἠβούλοντο καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πληρώσας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρα ὅσον ἠδύνατο

**15B** Photius, *Lexicon* under *Argas*

Argas, a bad poet with regard to composition. Phaenias mentions him in his work *Against the Sophists*. Or a species of a snake.

## On the Tyrants of Sicily

**16** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 6.20–21 231E–232D (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 1)

Now the votive offerings of silver and gold at Delphi had been dedicated for the first time by Gyges, who was king of Lydia; and before his reign, the god at Delphi had no silver, much less gold, as Phaenias of Eresus tells us, and Theopompus in the fortieth book of his *History of Philip*. For these authorities record that the Pythian shrine was adorned by Gyges and his successor Croesus,<sup>1</sup> and after them by Gelon and Hieron,<sup>2</sup> the Sicilian Greeks. The former dedicated a tripod and a goddess of victory made of gold about the time when Xerxes was making his invasion of Greece, the latter dedicated similar offerings. The words of Theopompus are as follows: “For in ancient times the sacred precinct was adorned with bronze offerings which were not statues, but cauldrons and tripods made of bronze. Now the Lacedaemonians, desiring to gild the face of the Apollo of Amyclae, but not finding any gold in Greece, sent to the oracle of the god and asked the god whom they should purchase gold from. And he returned an answer to them to the effect that they should go and buy it from Croesus the Lydian. And so they went and bought it from Croesus. As for Hieron of Syracuse, he desired to dedicate to the god the tripod and the goddess of victory of refined gold; for a long time he was at a loss how to get it, and finally sent messengers to search for it in Greece, who at last came to Corinth, and on investigation found it in the house of the Corinthian Architeles.<sup>3</sup> He had been buying up small amounts for a long time, and had a large store. Thus, he sold to Hieron’s agents all that they wanted, and then, filling his hand with as much as it could hold, he added that as a present to them. In return for this Hieron sent from Sicily a shipload of grain and many other gifts.”

(21) Phaenias records the same facts in his work *On the Tyrants of*



χωρήσαι ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς. ἀνθ' ὧν Ἰέρων πλοῖον σίτου  
καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ δῶρα ἔπεμψεν ἐκ Σικελίας.”

C (21) ἱστορεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Φαινίας ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων, ὡς χαλκῶν ὄντων τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναθημάτων καὶ τριπόδων καὶ λεβήτων καὶ ἐγχειριδίων, ὧν ἐφ' ἐνὸς καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι φησίν.

θάησαί μ' ἔτεδον γὰρ ἐν Ἰλίου εὐρέϊ πύργῳ  
ἦν, ὅτε καλλικόμῳ μαρνάμεθ' ἄμφ' Ἑλένη·  
καί μ' Ἀντηνορίδης ἐφόρει κρείων Ἑλικάων·  
νῦν δέ με Λητοΐδου θεῖον ἔχει δάπεδον.

D ἐπὶ δὲ τρίποδος, ὅς ἦν εἷς τῶν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἄθλων τεθέντων.

χάλκεός εἰμι τρίπους, Πυθοῖ δ' ἀνάκειμαι ἄγαλμα·  
καί μ' ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ θῆκεν πόδας ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
Τυδεΐδης δ' ἀνέθηκε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης,  
νικήσας ἵπποισι παρὰ πλατὺν Ἑλλήσποντον.

4–5 *Theopomp. FGrH / BNJ 115 F 193* 13–19 *oraculum Delphicum Q 106 Fontenrose* 34–37 *anon. epigram. FGE 1546–1549* 38–43 *Hom. Il. 23.264 et 23.510–513*

4 ὡς Φαινίας τέ φησιν *Kaibel, Olson* : φανίας *A* 11sq. “*oratio hiatibus frequens epitomatoris culpa*” *Kaibel* 16 [εἰς θεοῦ] *del Meineke* 18 [παρ' ἐκείνου] *Kaibel et om.*

### De Siciliae tyrannis?

17 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.11 6E–7A (BT t.1, p.13.18–14.9 *Kaibel* = t.1, p.32.20–34.17 *Olson*)

13 W Φαινίας δέ φησιν ὅτι Φιλόξενος ὁ Κυθήριος ποιητής,  
F 2 E περιπαθῆς ὢν τοῖς ὄψοις, δειπνῶν ποτε παρὰ Διονυσίῳ ὡς εἶδεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν μεγάλην τριῖγλαν παρατεθεῖσαν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ μικράν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὴν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸ οὖς προσήνεγκε. πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου τίνος ἔνεκεν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, εἶπεν ὁ Φιλόξενος ὅτι γράφων τὴν Γαλάτειαν βούλοιτό τινα παρ' ἐκείνης τῶν κατὰ Νηρέα πυθέσθαι τὴν δὲ ἡρωτημένην ἀποκεκρίσθαι διότι νεωτέρα ἀλοίη διὸ μὴ  
F παρακολουθεῖν τὴν δὲ τῷ Διονυσίῳ παρατεθεῖσαν πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν εἰδέναι πάντα σαφῶς ἃ βούλεται μαθεῖν.



*Sicily*, and also that the ancient votive offerings were of bronze, whether tripods, cauldrons, or daggers; and on one of these, he says, is this inscription:

Behold me; for I was in Ilion's broad tower,  
that time we fought for Helen with the beautiful hair;  
and Antenor's son, lordly Helicaon, carried me.

But today the sacred soil of Leto's son holds me in its keeping.

D On the tripod, which was one of the prizes offered at the games in honor of Patroclus, was inscribed:

A bronze tripod am I, dedicated as an offering at Pytho, and  
Achilles, swift of foot, staked me in honour of Patroclus.  
And Tydeus' son, Diomedes good at the cry, made offering of me  
after his victory with racehorses beside the broad Hellespont.

<sup>1</sup> This text is probably taken from an excursus on the notoriously rich votive offerings of several Sicilian tyrants, which they dedicated not only at Delphi, but also at other Panhellenic sanctuaries. Gyges and Croesus, two Lydian kings of the same dynasty, reigned c. 680–644 and c. 560–547 B.C. On Gyges, see also Hdt. 1.14.

<sup>2</sup> Gelon, tyrant of Gela, later of Syracuse and other places in Sicily, reigned 491–478 B.C. Hieron I, ca. 540–466/5 B.C. tyrant of Gela and later of Syracuse.

<sup>3</sup> Architeles, an otherwise unknown rich Corinthian; there is no entry in *RE*. See on this text and other following biographical and historical texts in this edition the full commentaries of J. Engels in Phaenias *FGrH* IV A 1 1012, see also Schütrumpf, Schorn, and Engels in this volume.

## On the Tyrants of Sicily?

17 Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 1.11 6E–7A (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 2)

Phaenias says that Philoxenus,<sup>1</sup> the poet of Cythera, who was wild about dainty food, was once dining with Dionysius, and when he saw that a large mullet had been set before Dionysius, while a small one had been served to himself, he took it up in his hands and placed it to his ear. When Dionysius asked him why he did that, Philoxenus answered that he was writing a poem on Galatea and desired to ask the mullet some questions about Nereus and his daughters. And the creature, on being asked, had answered that she had been caught when too young, and therefore had not joined Nereus' company; but her sister, the one set before Dionysius, was older, and knew accurately all

32 Phaenias of Eresus

τὸν οὖν Διονύσιον γελάσαντα ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτῷ τὴν τρί-  
γλαν τὴν παρακειμένην αὐτῷ. συνεμέθυε δὲ τῷ Φιλοξένῳ  
ἡδέως ὁ Διονύσιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐρωμένην Γαλάτειαν  
7A ἐφωράθη διαφθείρων, εἰς τὰς λατομίας ἐνεβλήθη· ἐν αἷς 15  
ποιῶν τὸν Κύκλωπα συνέθηκε τὸν μῦθον εἰς τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν  
γενόμενον πάθος, τὸν μὲν Διονύσιον Κύκλωπα ὑποστησά-  
μενος, τὴν δ' αὐλητρίδα Γαλάτειαν, ἑαυτὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεά.

1–12 *Suda s.v. Φιλόξενος* Φ 395 (*fere eadem, sed brevius*) 1 *Philoxemus*  
*PMG 816*

2 *Διονυσίῳ* <τῷ τυράννῳ> *add. Olson* (*cf. Suda s.v. Φιλόξενος* Φ 395)  
8 *ἀποκεκρίσθαι* διότι *Suda* : οὐκ ἀποκεκρίσθαι εἰδέναι *Kaibel dubitanter*

Tyrannorum caedes ex vindicta

18 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 10.51 438C (BT t.2 p.453.2–8  
Kaibel = t.5 p.92.27–94.6 Olson)

14 W Φαινίας δὲ ὁ Ἑρέσιος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τυράννων  
F 3 E ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας Σκόπαν φησὶ τὸν Κρέοντος μὲν  
υἱόν, Σκόπα δὲ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ὑιδοῦν φιλοποτοῦντα διατε-  
λέσαι καὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν συμποσίων ποιεῖσθαι  
ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τεσσάρων βασταζόμενον 5  
οὕτως οἴκαδε ἀπιέναι.

2 *Σκόπαν corr. Leopardi* : σκότταν *et* σκόττα *A* (κόττας *C*) *Kaibel*

19 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 3.40 90E–F (BT t.1 p.208.25–  
209.5 Kaibel = t.1 p.494.6–12 Olson)

15 W σωληνισταὶ δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ συνάγοντες τὰ ὄστρεα ταῦ-  
F 4 E τα, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Φαινίας ὁ Ἑρέσιος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ  
Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας γράφων οὕτως· Φιλόξενος



he wished to learn. So Dionysius, with a laugh, sent him the mullet that had been served to himself. Moreover, Dionysius was fond of getting drunk with wine in the company of Philoxenus. But when Philoxenus was caught in the act of seducing the king's mistress  
7A Galatea, he was thrown into the quarries. There he wrote his *Kyklops*, telling the story of what had happened to him, and representing Dionysius as a cyclops, the flute-girl as the nymph Galateaia, and himself as Odysseus.

<sup>1</sup> Philoxenus, ca. 435–380 B.C., one of the court poets of the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse (ca. 430–367 B.C.), was a dithyrambic poet. Philoxenus criticized the tyrant's attempts at writing tragedies, and for this reason he was actually thrown into the quarries near Syracuse as a prisoner, not for seducing the tyrant's mistress (see Suda, s.v. Φιλοξένου γραμμάτιον Φ 397 Adler and Diod. 15.6). For other ancient references to the play *Cyclops* or *Galatea*, see Page *PMG* no. 815–824.

## Tyrants Killed in Revenge

18 Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 10.51 438C (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 3)

And Phaenias of Eresus, in the work entitled *Tyrants Killed in Revenge*, says that Scopas<sup>1</sup>, the son of Creon and grandson of the elder Scopas, spent his life drinking and returned from drinking-bouts seated on a chair of state: thus, carried aloft by four men he used to make his homeward journey.

<sup>1</sup> Scopas was a 6th c. B.C. Thessalian dynast or tyrant (probably officially called a Thessalian *tagos*), a member of the clan of the Scopadae, based at Crannon or Pharsalus; see Engels' commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 3; *RE* 3 A 1 (1927), 567–569 H. Swoboda, and cf. Theocrit. *Id.* 16.36. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about Scopas' death (through an assault, in a war, or by accident?), which must have been a topic for Phaenias. See on a similarly effeminate and luxurious person Heraclides of Pontus 45 Schütrumpf on Artemon called *Periphoretos*.

19 Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 3.40 90E–F (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 4)

“Razorfish catchers” (*solenistai*) was the name given to the men who gather these shellfish, as Phaenias of Eresus records in the book entitled *Tyrants Killed in Revenge*. He writes as follows: “Philoxenus,<sup>1</sup>



ὁ καλούμενος σωληνιστῆς ἐκ δημαγωγοῦ τύραννος ἀνε-  
φάνη, ζῶν τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀλιευόμενος καὶ σωληνοθήρας 5  
ὢν· ἀφορμῆς δὲ λαβόμενος καὶ ἐμπορευσάμενος βίον  
ἐκτήσατο.

Tyrannorum caedes ex vindicta?

20      Parthenius, Narrationes amatoriae 7 (De Hipparino).1–5 (p.320.  
1–23 Lightfoot)

16 W      Περὶ Ἰππαρίνου.  
F 5 E      ἱστορεῖ Φανίας ὁ Ἑρέσιος.  
1      ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ παιδὸς διαφόρου τὴν ὄψιν  
(Ἰππαρίνος [ῆν] αὐτῷ ὄνομα) τῶν πάνυ δοκίμων Ἀντιλέων 5  
ἠράσθη· ὃς πολλὰ μηχανώμενος οὐδαμῇ δυνατὸς ἦν αὐτὸν  
ἀρμόσασθαι, περὶ δὲ γυμνάσια διατρίβοντι πολλὰ τῷ παιδί  
προσρυεῖς ἔφη τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν, ὥστε πάντα  
πόνον ἂν τλῆναι, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν κελεύοι, μηδενὸς αὐτὸν  
2 ἀμαρτήσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἄρα κατειρωνευόμενος προσέταξεν  
αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τινος ἐρυμνοῦ χωρίου, ὃ μάλιστα ἐφρουρεῖτο 10  
ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν τυράννου, τὸν κώδωνα κατα-  
κομίσει, πειθόμενος μὴ ἂν ποτε τελέσειν αὐτὸν τόνδε τὸν  
3 ἄθλον. Ἀντιλέων δὲ κρύφα τὸ φρούριον ὑπελθὼν καὶ  
λοχήσας τὸν φύλακα τοῦ κώδωνος κατακαίνει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ  
ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸ μεираκιον ἐπιτελέσας τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἐν 15  
πολλῇ αὐτῷ εὐνοίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἀλλή-  
4 λους ἐφίλουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τύραννος τῆς ὥρας ἐγλίχετο τοῦ  
παιδὸς καὶ οἷός τε ἦν αὐτὸν βία ἄγεσθαι, δυσανασχετήσας  
ὁ Ἀντιλέων ἐκείνῳ μὲν παρεκελεύσατο μὴ ἀντιλέγειν κιν-  
δυνεύειν αὐτὸς δὲ οἴκοθεν ἐξιόντα τὸν τύραννον προσδρα- 20  
5 μὼν ἀνεῖλεν. καὶ τοῦτο δράσας δρόμῳ ἴετο καὶ διέφυγεν  
ἄν, εἰ μὴ προβάτοις συνδεδεμένοις ἀμφιπεσὼν ἐχειρώθη.

surnamed the *solenist*, rose from the position of demagogue to that of tyrant. At first he earned a living as a fisherman and was a catcher of razorfish; but having accumulated some capital<sup>2</sup> he made a living by trade.”

<sup>1</sup> There is no reliable evidence as to the exact time or place where Philoxenus rose from a simple fisherman and demagogue to a tyrant. Berve, *Tyrannis*, v.1, 1967, p.340, without convincing evidence suggested the 4th c. B.C. and a town in Asia Minor. The rare word *solenistes* is derived from *solen* (*LSJ*<sup>9</sup> s.v. 1748–1749) meaning inter alia shellfish or razorfish (but also channel, gutter, pipe, and there is an obscene meaning), cf. Arist. *HA* 528a18 and 548a5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schweighäuser’s note v.2, p.111–112: “nactus aliquam fundum.”

## Tyrants Killed in Revenge?

**20** Parthenius of Nicaea,<sup>1</sup> *Love Stories* 7 (On Hipparinus) (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 5)

On Hipparinus.

The story comes from Phaenias of Eresus:

- 1 In Heracleia<sup>2</sup> in southern Italy Antileon fell deeply in love with a young boy who was extraordinarily beautiful and came from a very noble family. His name was Hipparinus. Although Antileon had tried in many ways he was by no means able to become the permanent lover of the boy. When the boy did his regular exercises in the training grounds Antileon often came round, saying to him that his desire for him was so great that he would endure any laborious task for his sake and that he would not fail to accomplish whatever the boy should
- 2 order him to do. Now the boy wanted to make a fool of him; so he gave him the order to go and fetch the tocsin from a certain stronghold that was closely guarded by the tyrant of the people of Heracleia. For the boy was sure that he (*scil.* the insistent lover) would never be able
- 3 to fulfill this task. But Antileon managed to sneak into the stronghold, lay in ambush for the guard of the alarm–bell, and slew him. When the man actually came back to the boy after having fulfilled his promise, he was allowed to enjoy his favor, and from that time on they were
- 4 very much in love with each other. When the tyrant himself, however, felt a sudden desire for the beauty of the young boy, he was in a position even to use force to get him as his lover, but Antileon found this intolerable. He asked the boy not to take any personal risk by

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διὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰρχαῖον ἀποκαταστάσης ἀμφοτέροις  
παρὰ τοῖς Ἡρακλεώταις ἐτέθησαν εἰκόνες χαλκαῖ καὶ 25  
νόμος ἐγράφη μηδένα ἐλαύνειν τοῦ λοιποῦ πρόβατα συν-  
δεδεμένα.

3–26 cf. Arist. Eth. Eud. 3.1.17 1229a21–24 et Arist. Pol. 5.8.9 1311a 31–36;  
Heraclidem 37 Schütrumpf; Plut. Amatorius 16 760B et 23 768F; Varro Rust.  
2.9.6; Suda s.v. Ἀντέρως A 2634

4 ἦν del. Meineke 6 πολλὰ del. Hercher 7 προσφυεῖς Legrand 8 ἂν τλῆναι  
Meineke, Lightfoot : <ἂν> ἀνατλῆναι Rohde, Zangoiannes 18 βία  
<προσ>άγεσθαι Hercher : βιάζεσθαι Cobet 19 ἀντιλέγοντα κινδυνεύειν  
Scaliger

21 Philodemus, Historia Philosophorum PHerc. 1021 col. XII, 2–12  
(p.143.2–6 Dorandi)

F 6 E Φαινίας δ' αὐ[τ]ὸν [λέ]  
γει φιλότιμον ἐμ πλεονε  
ξίαι γενόμενον καὶ τῇ[ς γ' Ὀ]  
λυμπικῆς νίκης [ἔ]τι κατ' ἀξί  
αν τύραννον [ἀν]αφανῆναι 5  
νεανικόν. ἐπ[ι]χειρήσαι δέ  
τινες αὐτὸν λέγουσι κ[αὶ]  
πόλιν κτίσα[ι Χαι]ρώγειαν  
ἐγγύς τῶν [κα]λουμένων  
Μεγαρικ[ῶν .....] ΚΕΙ 10  
ΩΝ

1–11 Hermipp. FGrH 1026 F 39 Bollansée 1–4 PHerc. 164 Fr. 24–25  
3–6 Paus. 7.27.7 4–6 Ps.-Demosth. 17.10; Ath. Deipnos. 11.119 509A–B

6 νεανικόν Dorandi : θεατρικόν Mekler : πικρόν Wilamowitz



offering resistance to the tyrant, but threw himself upon the tyrant  
 5 when he came out of his house and killed him. Having done so he ran  
 away and would have succeeded in his flight had he not been over-  
 come after running into a flock of sheep which was bound together.  
 When the city of Heracleia had restored its old constitutional order  
 bronze statues were erected in honor of both lovers in the town of the  
 Heracleots and a law was passed that in future it was forbidden to  
 drive a flock of sheep tied together.

<sup>1</sup> Parthenius of Nicaea was a 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. freedman and writer of love stories and elegies.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle alludes to a parallel story, which happened in Metapontium, a neighbouring town of Heracleia; see Aristotle, *Eth. Eud.* 3.1.17 1299a 21–24, and Engels' commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 5. Heraclides of Pontus 37 Schütrumpf (= Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 13.78 602A–C) related in his work *On Matters of Love* a similar story about two lovers named Chariton and Melanippus of Agrigentum who plotted against the cruel tyrant Phalaris. See R. Kassel, "Wagemutige Liebhaber," *RhM* 117 (1974), p.190–191.

**21** Philodemus, *History of the Philosophers*. *PHerc.* 1021 col. XII.2–12 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 6)

Now Phaenias says, that he (*scil.* Chaeron<sup>1</sup> of Pellene) had become possessed by ambition and in consequence of his status as a victor at the Olympic games turned out to be an energetic tyrant. He even undertook, according to some authors, to found a new city named Chaeronea close to the Megarian (marshes ?).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chaeron of Pellene (*DPhA* C 92 T. Dorandi) was a disciple of Plato's Academy before 339 B.C. An excellent wrestler, Chaeron won four Olympic and two other (Isthmian or Pythian?) victories; see Paus. 7.27.7. He became tyrant in Pellene on the Peloponnese after 336 B.C. with Macedonian support and was confirmed in his position in 331 after the revolt of king Agis III. See G. Marasco, "Cherone di Pellene: un tiranno del IV secolo a.C.," in: *Xenia. Scritti in onore di Piero Treves*, ed. F. Broilo (Rome 1985), pp. 111–119.

<sup>2</sup> For the immediately following lines *PHerc.* XII.12–16 in Philodemus I mention here K. Gaiser's imaginative proposals, but I would refrain now from printing any highly speculative Greek text. See, however, for an earlier attempt J. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 6 with full commentary and cf. J. Bollansée's text and his commentary on Hermippus of Smyrna *FGrH* 1026 F 39. Gaiser translated his proposal as follows: "... as if they were his property. And when he tried with all his energy to dig a passage deep and wide enough (*scil.* for the passage of ships) on the Isthmus (*scil.* of Corinth), he did not succeed in joining the two seas ..." Philodemus embedded his quotation

De Prytanis Eresiorum

**22A**    Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 8.6 333A (BT t.2 p.232.8–11 Kaibel  
= t.4 p.10.24–26 Olson)

17a W      οἶδα δὲ καὶ πολλαχοῦ ὕσαντα τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύσι· Φαινίας  
F 7 E    γοῦν ἐν δευτέρῳ Πρυτάνεων Ἑρεσίων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ φη-  
σὶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὕσαι τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύας.

**22B**    Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 1.39 (t.1 p.57.26–  
28 van der Valk)

17b W      ὥς δὲ καὶ ἰχθύσιν ὕσεν ὁ θεὸς πολλαχοῦ, Ἀθήναιος ἱστο-  
ρεῖ. Φαινίας γοῦν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ φησὶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας  
ὕσαι τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύας.

De Prytanis Eresiorum?

**23**      Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.29 16E (BT t.1 p.36.15–20 Kaibel  
= t.1 p.92.4–11 Olson)

18 W      καὶ οἱ μνηστῆρες δὲ παρ’ αὐτῷ “πεσσοῖσι προπάροιθε  
F 8 E    θυράων” ἐτέρποντο, οὐ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Διοδώρου [ἢ  
Θεοδώρου] μαθόντες τὴν πεττεῖαν οὐδὲ τοῦ Μιτυληναίου  
Λέοντος τοῦ ἀνέκαθεν Ἀθηναίου, ὃς ἀήττητος ἦν κατὰ τὴν



from Phaenias in a longer quotation taken from a treatise of the Callimachean biographer Hermippus of Smyrna (3rd c. B.C.) entitled *On Those who Converted from Philosophy to <...> and the Exercise of Power*. Probably one should add *to Tyranny* in the title. J. Bollansée surmised that the quotation from Phaenias would extend from col. XII, line 2, perhaps to the very end of col. XII (= XII.41), but this editor prefers to agree with T. Dorandi's cautious position that the Phaenias quotation ends in XII.12. It is also disputed, whether Philodemus used Phaenias directly (Engels, pp. 308–309) or only indirectly via Hermippus as an intermediate source (Bollansée, p. 359).

## The Prytaneis of Eresus

**22A** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 8.6 333A (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 7)

I know, too, that it has rained fish in many places. Phaenias, for example, says in the second book of *The Prytaneis of Eresus* that on the Chersonesos it rained fish for three whole days.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Athenaeus this text is embedded in a series of similar stories taken from different authors. One wonders how Phaenias came to include this piece of *Mirabilia*-literature in his work entitled *The Prytaneis of Eresus*. See below **39A/B** and **40** for Phaenias' interest in similar stories. Other ancient authors, for instance even Callimachus, tell stories that it rained snakes or frogs. See also on Phaenias and *Mirabilia* the contribution by White in this volume.

**22B** Eustathius, *Commentaries on Homer's Iliad* 1.39

Athenaeus relates that it has rained fish in many places; Phaenias says that on the Chersonesos it rained fish for three whole days.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the notes on **22A**, **39A/B** and **40**.

## The Prytaneis of Eresus?

**23** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 1.29 16E (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 8)

The suitors in Homer amused themselves by playing “draughts before the doors.” They could not have learned the game from the celebrated Diodorus [or Theodorus], or the Mitylenaeon Leon, whose ancestry was Athenian, and who, according to Phaenias, was never



πεπτευτικήν, ὥς φησι Φαινίας.

5

1–2 *Hom. Od. 1.107*

2–3 [*ἢ Θεοδώρου*] *varia lectio del. Kaibel*; “*Diodorus videtur is fuisse contra quem scripsit Phaenias*,” *proposuit Kaibel, quod dubitat Engels* 5 *Φαινίας Kaibel, Olson : Φανίας Wehrli : φανίας E : φανείας C*

24 Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* 1.21 1.139.3–4 (GCS t.2 p.86.13–22 Stählin / Früchtel)

19 W εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Κέκροπος μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μα-  
F 9 E κεδόνα συνάγουσιν ἔτη χίλια ἑοκτακόσια εἴκοσι ὀκτώ,  
ἀπὸ δὲ Δημοφῶντος χίλια διακόσια πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἀπὸ  
Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρακλειδῶν (4) κάθοδον ἔτη  
ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἢ ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ Εὐ- 5  
αίνετον ἄρχοντα, ἐφ’ οὗ φασιν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν  
διαβῆναι, ὥς μὲν Φανίας ἔτη ἑπτακόσια δεκαπέντε, ὥς δὲ  
Ἐφορος ἑπτακόσια τριάκοντα πέντε, ὥς δὲ Τίμαιος καὶ  
Κλείταρχος ὀκτακόσια εἴκοσι, ὥς δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ἑπτα-  
κόσια ἑβδομήκοντα τέσσερα, ὥς δὲ Δοῦρις ἀπὸ Τροίας 10  
ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διάβασιν ἔτη  
χίλια.

8 *Ephorus FGrH / BNJ 70 F 223* 8 *Timaeus FGrH / BNJ 566 F 126*  
9 *Clitarchus FGrH / BNJ 137 F 7* 9 *Eratosthenes FGrH / BNJ 241 F 1d*  
10 *Duris FGrH / BNJ 76 F 41*

2 χίλια διακόσια πεντήκοντα *Gutschmidt* 2 *Δημοφῶντος : Κέκροπος Brandis*  
3 χίλια διακόσια πεντήκοντα : ὀκτακόσια τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ *Gutschmidt*  
10 τέσσερα *del. Müller*

beaten at draughts.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A possible context in Phaenias' original work may have been learned prosopographical remarks on famous inhabitants of Lesbian cities or a digression on the moral aspects of playing draughts.

**24** Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21 139.3–4 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 9)

There are some authors who calculate from the time of Kekrops to Alexander the Macedonian one thousand eight (?) hundred and 28 years, but from Demophon 1250 years, and from the capture of Troy to the return of the sons of Heracles 120 or 180 years. From then to the year in which Euaenetus was archon, when—as it is said—Alexander crossed to Asia (*scil.* in spring 334 B.C.), according to Phaenias 715 years, to Ephorus<sup>1</sup> 735 years, according to Timaeus<sup>2</sup> and Clitarchus<sup>3</sup> 820, following Eratosthenes<sup>4</sup> 774 (or 770?) years, but according to Duris<sup>5</sup> from the capture of Troy to the crossing of Alexander to Asia 1000 years.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ephorus of Cyme, founder of Greek universal history, c. 405–330 B.C. He wrote as his main work the *Historiai*.

<sup>2</sup> Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily, c. 350–260 B.C. He composed inter alia (*Sikelikai*) *historiai* and the *Olympionikai*.

<sup>3</sup> Clitarchus, late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., was an early and influential historian of Alexander the Great.

<sup>4</sup> Eratosthenes of Cyrene, c. 285–194 B.C. Here the reference is to his highly influential treatise on chronology.

<sup>5</sup> Duris of Samos, c. 340–260 B.C. Among other works he wrote *Makedonika*.

<sup>6</sup> The size of this text has been enlarged in comparison to Wehrli's to show the complete context of this learned chronological discussion. Phaenias ranks here among a series of acknowledged historians. The capture of Troy, the return of the sons of Heracles, and Alexander's crossing to Asia were basic dates of Greek chronology, esp. in Ephorus' *Universal History*. Note the discussion on the precise number of years in these different authors. On Phaenias' interest in chronology, see A. A. Mosshammer, "Phainias of Eresos and Chronology," *CSCA* 10 (1977) 105–132, and below **38** *On Poets*.

42     Phaenias of Eresus

25     Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 1.21 131.6 (t.2 p.81.14–17  
Stählin / Früchtel)

33 W     ναὶ μὴν καὶ Τέρπανδρον ἀρχαΐζουσί τινες. Ἑλλάνικος  
F 10 E     γοῦν τοῦτον ἱστορεῖ κατὰ Μίδαν γεγονέναι, Φανίας δὲ πρὸ  
Τερπάνδρου τιθεὶς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχου νεώ-  
τερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον, διημιλλῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Λέσχην  
Ἀρκτίνῳ καὶ νενικηκέναι.

5

1 *Hellanicus FGrH / BNJ 4 F 85b*     3 *Terpander EGF I, p. 38 Kinkel*  
= *T 5 Campbell*

3–4 *Ἀρχίλοχον .... τὸν Τέρπανδρον : Ἀρχίλοχον .... τοῦ Τερπάνδρου Unger*

SCRIPTA HISTORICA ET BIOGRAPHICA

26     Plutarchus, Solon 14.1–3 (BT t.1.1 p.97.1–12 Ziegler)

20 W     ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ φρονιμώτατοι συνορῶντες  
F 14 E     τὸν Σόλωνα μόνον <ἢ> μάλιστα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκτὸς  
ὄντα, καὶ μήτε τοῖς πλουσίοις κοινωνοῦντα τῆς ἀδικίας,  
μήτε ταῖς τῶν πενήτων ἀνάγκαις ἐνεχόμενον, ἐδέοντο τοῖς  
2 κοινοῖς προσελθεῖν καὶ καταπαῦσαι τὰς διαφοράς. καίτοι     5  
Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σόλωνα, χρησάμενον  
ἀπάτῃ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, ὑπο-  
σχέσθαι κρύφα τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις γῆς νέμησιν, τοῖς δὲ χρη-  
3 ματικοῖς βεβαίωσιν τῶν συμβολαίων. ἀλλ’ αὐτός φησιν ὁ     10  
Σόλων ὁκνῶν τὸ πρῶτον ἄψασθαι τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ  
δεδοικῶς τῶν μὲν τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπερ-  
ηφανίαν.



- 25** Clement of Alexandria, *Patchwork* 1.21 131.6 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 10)

And indeed some make Terpander an earlier writer than he is. For Hellanicus (*scil.* in the *Carneian Victors*) narrates that he lived in the time of Midas, but Phaenias estimates that Lesches the Lesbian lived before Terpander and thus makes Terpander younger than Archilochus, whereas Lesches had been a victorious competitor against Arctinus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This scholarly discussion about the relative dates of the poets Terpander and Archilochus may well also come from Phaenias' *On Poets*. There is much uncertainty in modern scholarship about the approximate dates of the early Greek poets named here, and hence about their relative chronology. Terpander, a famous musician (and melic poet) may be dated roughly 700–640 B.C. (see Campbell's testimonies 1–6), Archilochus, an elegiac and iambic poet, to about the same time ca. 700 to after 648 B.C., Arctinus of Miletus, an epic poet, also to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. Arctinus, however, remains "ein zeit- und wesenloser Homeride" (*RE* 2.1 (1895) 1172 E. Bethe). With regard to Lesches of Pyrrha on Lesbos strong doubts have been expressed since the time of U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff that a historical poet named Lesches ever really existed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. In sum, Bethe perhaps rightly called the chronological scheme offered by Phaenias "fictiv". See A.A. Mosshammer's study on Phaenias and chronology, above note on **24**. King Midas of Phrygia may be dated ca. 738–696 B.C.

## HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

- 26** Plutarch, *Solon* 14.1–3 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 14)

- 1 At this point the most levelheaded of the Athenians began to look towards Solon. They saw that he, more than anyone else, stood apart from the injustices of the time and was involved in neither the extortions of the rich nor the privations of the poor, and so they appealed to him to come forward and settle their differences.
- 2 Phaenias of Lesbos, however, reports that Solon used deceit on both parties in order to save the city,<sup>1</sup> and secretly promised the poor that he would redistribute the land, and the rich that he would guarantee the pledges which were their security.
- 3 Solon's own version is that he only engaged in politics very unwillingly, because he was afraid of the grasping nature of the one party and the arrogance of the other.

**44**     **Phaenias of Eresus**

1–12 *cf. Arist. Ath. Pol. 5.2–3; Solon Fr. 4 West*

2 <ῆ> *add. Richards*

**27**     Plutarchus, *Solon* 32.3 (BT t.1.1 p.123.14–20 Ziegler)

21 W            ἐπεβίωσε δ' οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου  
F 15 E τυραννεῖν, ὥς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, συ-  
χνὸν χρόνον, ὥς δὲ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος ἐλάττονα δυεῖν  
ἐτῶν. ἐπὶ Κωμίου μὲν γὰρ ἤρξατο τυραννεῖν Πεισίστρα-  
τος, ἐφ' Ἡγεστράτου δὲ Σόλωνά φησιν ὁ Φανίας ἀποθα- 5  
νεῖν τοῦ μετὰ Κωμίαν ἄρξαντος.

2 *Heraclides* 34 *Schütrumpf* 4 *Arist. Ath. Pol. 14.1*

2–3 *συχνὸν Y: πολὸν S* 4 *Κωμίου : vide Arist. Ath. Pol. 14.1 Κωμέας*

**28A**     Suda K 2745 s.v. Κύρβεις (LG t.3 p.217.25–218.1 Adler)

22a W            Κύρβεις· αἱ τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἑορτὰς ἔχουσai· κρύβιές τινες  
F 16a E οὔσαι, ἐν αἷς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποκρυπτόμενα ἔδει εἶναι.  
Ἀσκληπιάδης, ὅτι ἀπὸ Κύρβεως τοῦ τὰς θυσίας ὀρίσαντος,  
ὥς φησι Φανίας ὁ Ἐφέσιος, ἀπὸ τούτου ταῦτα κυρωθῆναι  
τοῖς γράμμασιν. 5

3 *Asclepiades FGrH 339 F 1 / BNJ 339 F 1 Sickinger*

3 οὐσίας *cod., Sturz, Wehrli SdA 22a, Engels FGrH 1012 F 16a : θυσίας*  
*Anecd. Oxon. ed. Cramer / Salmasius / Adler / Sickinger BNJ 339 F 1 and*  
*341 F 2*



<sup>1</sup> The context of this text is one of Solon's greatest political and social reforms, the so-called *seisachtheia* or abolition of the debts in Attica (traditionally dated to 594 B.C.). Solon acted either as an *archon* or with special competences as a *diallaktes* or *nomothetes*. Phaenias uses this well-known story to mention the problem of using tricks and lies as political means to secure the good end of saving the city. See also P. Rhodes' commentary on *Athenaion Politeia* 5.2–3.

## 27 Plutarch, *Solon* 32.3 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012)

According to Heraclides of Pontus, Solon lived on for many years after Peisistratus had made himself tyrant, but Phaenias of Eresus maintains that he did not survive for more than two.<sup>1</sup> For Peisistratus first became tyrant<sup>2</sup> during the archonship of Comeas, and Phaenias states that Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus, who succeeded Comeas.

<sup>1</sup> Another indication of Phaenias' intense interest in scholarly debates on important dates. On this issue, even two Peripatetics, Phaenias and Heraclides, differed. Phaenias, however, referred to the official Athenian list of archons. Comeas' archonship dates to 561/60 and Hegestratus' to 560/59 B.C. Perhaps Heraclides' vague chronology is supposed to support the possibility of Solon meeting king Croesus of Lydia which is impossible following Phaenias' chronology. Some problems remain, however, about the chronology given in *Athenaion Politeia* for Solon's year as archon (594/3 B.C.) and Peisistratus' first year as tyrant (561/60), because the difference would be 34 years instead of the 32 years mentioned once by Aristotle himself (See Rhodes on *Ath. Pol.* 14.1, p. 201).

<sup>2</sup> According to the usual modern dates for Peisistratus' tyranny, in 561/60 B.C. he ruled only for a short time, but later on continuously from 546 to his death in 527 B.C.

## 28A Suda K (Kappa) 2745 under “*Kyrbeis*”

*Kyrbeis*: the objects having the (lists of) festivals of the gods. There are certain *krybies* (= *kyrbeis*) on which the business of the gods was to be hidden. Asclepiades (*scil.* in his *Commentaries on the Axones*) derives the word from Kyrbes, who defined the sacrifices<sup>1</sup>. Or as Phantias of Ephesus<sup>2</sup> says, the name is derived from being ratified in writing.

<sup>1</sup> In *FGrH* 1012 F 16a, J. Engels kept *ousias* – the property – in the text instead of *thysias* – the sacrifices – and translated as follows: “*Kyrbeis*: Asclepiades (*scil.* says in his *Commentaries on the Solonian Kyrbeis*) derives the word from Kyrbes who defined the property, or, as Phaenias of Eresus says, the name is derived from



**28B** Etymologicum Gudianum s.v. κύρβες (p.355.38–43 Sturz)

22b W κύρβεις, αἱ τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἑορτὰς ἔχουσai ἦτοι ἀπὸ τῆς  
F 16b E κατασκευῆς (εἰσὶ γὰρ κυρβασίαι), ἣ κύρβεις, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῶν  
θεῶν ἀποκρυπτόμενα δεῖ εἶναι. Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ ἐν τοῖς  
Τῶν ἀξόνων ἐξηγητικοῖς, ἀπὸ Κύρβεως τοῦ τὰς θυσίας  
ὀρίσαντος· <ῥ>, ὡς φησὶ Φανίης ὁ Ἐφέσιος, ἀπὸ τοῦ 5  
ταῦτα κυρωθῆναι τοῖς γράμμασιν·

1 cf. Seleukos FGrH / BNJ 341 F 2 3 Asklepiades FGrH / BNJ 339 F 1;  
Etym. Magnum s.v. κύρβεις

4 οὐσίας cod., Sturz, Wehrli Fr. 22B, Engels FGrH 1012 F 16b : θυσίας  
Anecd. Oxon., Gale / Salmasius / Sickinger 5 <ῥ>, ὡς φησὶ Φανίης ὁ  
Ἐφέσιος, ἀπὸ Sickinger : ὡς φησὶ Φανίης ὁ Ἐφέσιος, <ῥ> ἀπὸ Wehrli

**29** Plutarchus, Themistocles 1.1–2 (BT t.1.1 p.157.1–10 Ziegler)

23 W Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς  
F 17 E δόξαν ὑπῆρχε πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπι-  
φανῶν Ἀθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δήμων ἐκ τῆς Λεωντίδος  
φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ὡς λέγουσιν·  
Ἀβρότονον Θρήισσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι 5  
τὸν μέγαν Ἑλλησὶν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.  
2 Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ Θραῦ-  
ταν, ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα, ἀλλ' Εὐτέρ-  
πην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ πόλιν αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας

their being ratified (*kyrothenai*) in writing.” Cf. also the useful material on this lemma in the *Suda On Line* project.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts preserve the name Phantias of Ephesus, which certainly is a mistake, and we should read Phantias of Eresus.

## 28B Etymologicum Gudianum under *kyrbes* (transl. Sickinger *BNJ* 341 F 2)

*Kyrbeis*.<sup>1</sup> The objects having the festivals of the gods. Named either from their construction (for they are cap-like) or *kyrbeis* (“hidden things”) since the business of the gods must be hidden. Asclepiades<sup>2</sup> in his *Commentaries on the Axones* derives the word from *Kyrbes*, who defined the sacrifices. Or, as Phaenias of Eresus says, the name is derived from being ratified (*kyrothenai*) in writing.

<sup>1</sup> According to Athenian tradition Solon’s laws were recorded and publicly displayed on the so-called *axones* and *kyrbeis*. Phaenias takes part in a discussion on the correct etymology and meaning of *kyrbeis*. The wording of these two texts is still disputed among scholars; see for instance the earlier notes in the following commentaries of F. Jacoby in *FGrH* 339 and 341, then Engels in *FGrH* 1012 F 16a/b, and most recently Sickinger in *BNJ* 339 and 341. See also still useful R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologica. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Philologie in Alexandria und Byzanz*, Leipzig 1897, esp. p.164 on the wording of this text. On the whole complicated ancient tradition about *axones* and *kyrbeis*, see now G. Davis, “Axones and Kyrbeis: a New Answer to an Old Problem,” *Historia* 60 (2011) 1–35, with earlier literature. On Seleucus, see Sickinger’s commentary *BNJ* 339.

<sup>2</sup> Asclepiades may be identified with Asclepiades of Nicaea or of Alexandria (3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C., following F. Jacoby and F. Wehrli) or, less probably, with Asclepiades of Myrlea (1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C., following E. Ruschenbusch). The grammarian Asclepiades seems to have thought that a man named *Kurbes* (or *Kyrbeus*?) was the eponymous originator of these *stelai*.

## 29 Plutarch, *Themistocles* 1.1–2 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 17)

In the case of Themistocles his family<sup>1</sup> was too obscure to have lent him any distinction at the beginning of his career. His father was Neocles, a man of no particular mark at Athens, who belonged to Phrearrus, one of the demes of the tribe Leontis. On his mother’s side he was mixed race, as her epitaph tells us:

Habrotonon is my name, a woman of Thrace, yet famous among the Greeks: I was the mother of Themistocles.

<sup>2</sup> However, according to Phaenias, Themistocles’ mother was not a Thracian but a woman of Caria, and her name was not Habrotonon but



Ἀλικαρνασσὸν προστίθησι. 10

5–6 *Anth. Pal.* 7.306; *cf. Ath. Deipnos.* 13.37 576C    9 *Neanthes FGrH* / *BNJ* 84 F 2b

30      Plutarchus, Themistocles 7.5–7 (BT t.1.1 p.165.10–166.3 Ziegler)

24 W

F 18 E

ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀφεταιῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου προσμεί-  
ξαντος, ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Εὐρυβιάδης τῶν κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ  
πλήθος, ἄλλας δὲ πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου  
κύκλῳ περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην εἶσω τῆς Ἑλ-  
λάδος κομισθεὶς ἄψασθαι Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸν πεζὸν  
στρατὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπεριβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀπρόσ-  
μαχον ἡγούμενος τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀλκὴν βασιλέως,  
δείσαντες οἱ Εὐβοεῖς μὴ σφᾶς οἱ Ἕλληνες πρόωνται,  
κρύφα τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ διελέγοντο, Πελάγοντα μετὰ χρη-  
μάτων πολλῶν πέμψαντες. ἃ λαβὼν ἐκεῖνος, ὥς Ἡρόδοτος  
ἱστόρηκε, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔδωκεν. ἐναντιου-  
μένου δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἀρχιτέλους, ὃς ἦν  
μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς νεῶς τριήραρχος, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ χρήματα  
τοῖς ναύταις χορηγεῖν ἔσπευδεν ἀποπλεῦσαι, παρώξυνεν  
ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὥστε  
τὸ δεῖπνον ἀρπάσαι συνδραμόντας. τοῦ δ' Ἀρχιτέλους  
ἀθυμοῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος, εἰσέπεμψεν ὁ  
Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν κίστῃ δεῖπνον ἄρτων καὶ  
κρεῶν, ὑποθεὶς κάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου καὶ κελεύσας  
αὐτόν τε δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιμελη-  
θῆναι τῶν τριηριτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, καταβοήσειν αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
τοὺς πολίτας ὥς ἔχοντος ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

5

10

15

20

Euterpe, while Neanthes<sup>2</sup> even adds the name of the city she came from in Caria – that is, Halicarnassus.

<sup>1</sup> For discussions of Themistocles' parents and family connections, see e.g. J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971, pp. 211–220, F. J. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles. A Historical Commentary*, Princeton 1980, pp. 60–63, J. Traill *PAA* t.9, 2000, no. 502610; Engels, commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 17.

<sup>2</sup> Recent scholarship differentiates between two authors named Neanthes of Cyzicus, whose fragments were collected by Jacoby under a single entry in *FGrH* 84 (see now the biographical essay on *BNJ* 84); the note on Themistocles should come from an early biographical work entitled *On Famous Men (Peri endoxon andron)* by the earlier Neanthes who was a disciple of Philiscus of Miletus; see J. Engels, commentary on Philiscus *BNJ* 339B, and S. Schorn, “‘Peripatetische Biographie’ – ‘Historische Biographie’: Neanthes von Kyzikos (*FGrH* 84) als Biograph,” in M. Erler and S. Schorn (eds.), *Die griechische Biographie in hellenistischer Zeit*, *BzA* 245, Berlin 2007, pp. 115–156.

### 30 Plutarch, *Themistocles* 7.5–7 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 18)

When the Persian fleet arrived at Aphetai,<sup>1</sup> Eurybiades<sup>2</sup> was appalled to learn the number of ships that he had to face. And when he also discovered that another 200 vessels were sailing round beyond the island of Skiathus to take him in the rear, his immediate impulse was to take the shortest way back into Greece, reach the Peloponnese and there use his land forces to screen the fleet, for he regarded the Persians as invincible at sea. This in turn alarmed the Euboeans, who were afraid that the rest of the Greeks might abandon them, and they secretly got in touch with Themistocles and sent Pelagon to him with large sums of money. Themistocles, according to Herodotus, accepted  
6 the money and gave it to Eurybiades. Among his own countrymen the bitterest opposition he encountered came from Architeles,<sup>3</sup> the captain of the sacred state trireme, who was anxious to sail back to Athens because he did not have enough money to pay his crew. So Themistocles stirred up the feelings of Architeles' men against him to such a pitch that they made a rush at him and snatched away his dinner. Then while Architeles was still dispirited and nursing his  
7 chagrin at this, Themistocles sent him a box containing a dinner of bread and meat and under it a talent of silver. He told Architeles to eat his dinner at once and look after his crew in the morning; otherwise he would denounce him publicly for accepting money from the enemy.<sup>4</sup> This is the story we are told by Phaenias of Lesbos.



ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκεν.

11 *Herodot. 8.5*

16 *τριηρίτας Sintenis : πολίτας codd.*

31 Plutarchus, Themistocles 13.2–5 (BT t.1.1 p.173.16–174.7 Ziegler)

25 W Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη σφαγια-  
F 19 E ζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν  
ιδέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ἐσθῆτι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι δια-  
πρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδάκης παῖδες εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως  
3 ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταύκτου. τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ 5  
μάντις, ὥς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ  
περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε, τὸν  
Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατ-  
άρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ προσ-  
ευξάμενον οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς 10  
4 Ἕλλησιν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὥς μέγα τὸ  
μάντευμα καὶ δεινόν, οἷον εἶωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ  
πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐ-  
λόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα  
κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βω- 15  
5 μῷ προσαγαγόντες ἠνάγκασαν, ὥς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν  
θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ  
γραμματῶν οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴ-  
ρηκε.

1–17 *cf. Plut. Arist. 9.1–2 et Pel. 21.3*

4 *Σανδάκης παῖδες MA : σανδαύκης SU 9 καθιερεῦσαι Sintenis : καθ-  
ιερώσαι codices*

<sup>1</sup> The context of this text is Xerxes' attack on Greece in 480 B.C. with a huge army as well as a great fleet. Our main ancient source for this campaign is Herodotus' *Histories* 7–8; see esp. 8.5. Aphetai is located in southern Magnesia, not far from Cape Artemisium, and the story may be dated shortly before the naval battle at Artemisium in the summer of 480.

<sup>2</sup> Eurybiades, a Spartan, was the official commander-in-chief of the combined Greek fleet.

<sup>3</sup> Of course, the commander of the sacred Athenian state galley (the *paralos*), Architeles, held a very honorable position in the Athenian navy; see on the *paralos* Jacoby's note on Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 47–48 and Harpocration under "Paralos" P (Pi) 20 Keaney; see also Engels' commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 18.

<sup>4</sup> There is an important discussion whether **30** and **31** show a particular bias for or against Themistocles, his character features and clever actions. See the contributions by Engels and Schorn in this volume.

**31** Plutarch, *Themistocles* 13.2–5 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 19)

2 Meanwhile,<sup>1</sup> Themistocles was offering sacrifice alongside the  
admiral's trireme. Here three remarkably handsome prisoners were  
brought before him, magnificently dressed and wearing gold orna-  
ments. They were reported to be the sons of Sandake,<sup>2</sup> the king's  
3 sister, and Artayctus. At the very moment that Euphrantides the pro-  
phet (*mantis*) saw them, a great bright flame shot up from the victims  
awaiting sacrifice at the altar and a sneeze was heard on the right,  
which is a good omen. At this, Euphrantides clasped Themistocles by  
the right hand and commanded him to dedicate the young men by  
cutting off their forelocks and then to offer up a prayer and sacrifice  
them all to Dionysus, the "Eater of Flesh",<sup>3</sup> for if this were done, it  
4 would bring deliverance and victory to the Greeks. Themistocles was  
appalled at this terrible and monstrous command from the prophet, as  
it seemed to him. But the people, as so often happens at moments of  
crisis, were ready to find salvation in the miraculous rather than in a  
rational course of action. And so they called upon the name of the god  
5 with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the  
sacrifice to be carried out as the prophet had demanded. This, at any  
rate, is the account we have from Phaenias of Lesbos, who was a phi-  
losopher and well read in history besides.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Xerxes' campaign in 480 B.C. marks the historical context, and the dramatic date is immediately before the decisive battle at Salamis in September 480. For a detailed report on the military and political situation, see Herodotus, book 8.

<sup>2</sup> Sandake (or in another form of that name Sandauke) was king Xerxes' sister;



**32**      Plutarchus, Themistocles 27.1–8 (BT t.1.1 p.188.22–189.29 Ziegler)

26 W      Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστο-  
F 20 E ροῦσι τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεμι-  
στοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν· Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ  
Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες πρὸς  
αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ 5  
2 μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς  
ἀτρέμα συνταπτομένοις. ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος  
παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινόν, ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Ἀρταβάνῳ τῷ  
χιλιάρχῳ, λέγων Ἕλληνα μὲν εἶναι, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐντυχεῖν  
βασίλει περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ πρὸς ἃ τυγχάνοι 10  
3 μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. ὁ δὲ φησιν “ὦ ξένε, νόμοι  
διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλά· καλὸν δὲ  
4 πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεῖα κοσμεῖν καὶ σῶζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐλευ-  
θερίαν μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἰσότητα λόγος ἡμῖν δὲ  
πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, 15  
τιμᾶν βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ  
5 πάντα σῶζοντος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσ-  
κυνήσεις, ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι βασιλέα καὶ προσ-  
ειπεῖν· εἰ δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς, ἀγγέλοις ἑτέροις χρήσῃ πρὸς  
αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ 20

Artayctus (or is he to be identified with a Persian named Artayctes? see *RE* 2.1 (1895), 1327 F. Cauer, on whom Herodotus has several notes in 7.33 and 78; 9.116 and 118–120) was a high ranking Persian aristocrat and a commander in Xerxes' army. The *mantis* Euphrantides is known solely from this passage and from Plutarch, *Aristides* 9.2.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysus the “Eater of (Raw) Flesh” (*Omestes*) is a Lesbian, not an Athenian cult appellation of this deity. See on this strange and suspicious detail and in general on the problem of the historicity of this story about a human sacrifice offered by the Athenians before the battle of Salamis, Engels, commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 19 with earlier literature (and Engels and Schorn in this volume).

<sup>4</sup> On the whole text, Plutarch's very favorable characterization of Phaenias as “a philosopher and well read in history besides” and Plutarch's and Phaenias' opinion about Themistocles, see also F. Muccioli, “Fania di Lesbo, un filosofo e assai esperto di ricerca storica (Plut. *Them.* 13,5). Plutarco e i rapporti tra biografia, storia e filosofia etica,” in: A.G. Nikolaidis (ed.), *The Unity of Plutarch's Work: 'Moralia' Themes in the 'Lives', Features of the 'Lives' in the 'Moralia'*, Berlin – New York 2008, pp. 461–480.

### 32 Plutarch, *Themistocles* 27.1–8 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 20)

According to Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus, Xerxes was now dead and it was his son Artaxerxes with whom Themistocles had his audience.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and many other authorities maintain that he came to Xerxes. Thucydides' version seems to me to fit better with the dates that are  
 2 known to us over this period, although these are by no means firmly established.<sup>2</sup> At any rate Themistocles now had to face his long-awaited ordeal, and he was received first of all by Artabanus, the vizier.<sup>3</sup> Themistocles announced to him that he was a Greek and wished to have an audience with the king on matters that were of special concern to him and of the highest importance. Artabanus replied:  
 3 “Stranger, the customs of men differ very greatly from one another. Every people has its own standards of right and wrong, but all agree  
 4 that it is right to honor and uphold the customs of their own country. Now you Greeks have the reputation of admiring liberty and equality above all else. We, on the other hand, out of all the excellent laws we possess, take most pride in honoring the king and prostrating ourselves before him as the image of the god who is the preserver of the  
 5 universe. If you approve our customs, then, and will make obeisance to him,<sup>4</sup> you may see and speak to the king. But if your ideas are different, you must find other intermediaries to communicate with



προσκυνήσαντος.”

- 6 ταῦθ' ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀκούσας, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “ἀλλ’  
 ἐγὼ τὴν βασιλέως ὦ Ἀρτάβανε φήμην καὶ δύναμιν αὐ-  
 ξήσων ἀφίγμαι, καὶ αὐτός τε πείσομαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις νό-  
 μοις, ἐπεὶ θεῶ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι Πέρσας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ δι’ 25  
 7 ἐμὲ πλείονες τῶν νῦν βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν. ὥστε  
 τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις οὓς βούλομαι πρὸς  
 ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν.” “τίνα δέ,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀρτάβανος, “Ελλήνων  
 8 ἀφίχθαι φῶμεν; οὐ γὰρ ἰδιώτῃ τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας.” καὶ ὁ  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς· “τοῦτ’ οὐκ ἄν,” ἔφη, “πύθοιτό τις Ἀρτάβανε 30  
 πρότερος βασιλέως.” οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησὶν· ὁ δ’  
 Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλούτου προσιστόρησε, διὰ  
 γυναικὸς Ἐρετρικῆς ἦν ὁ χιλιάρχος εἶχε τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ  
 τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.

1 *Thuc.* 1.137.3 1 *Charon* *FGrH* / *BNJ* 262 F 11 3 *Ephorus* *FGrH* / *BNJ* 70 F 190 3 *Dionon* *FGrH* / *BNJ* 690 F 13 4 *Clitarchus* *FGrH* / *BNJ* 137 F 33 4 *Heraclides Cumaeus* *FGrH* / *BNJ* 689 F 6 32 *Eratosthenes* *FGrH* / *BNJ* 241 F 27

6–7 αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταπτομένοις *Y*; *Liddell-Scott, Wehrli* : αὐτὸς ἀτρέμα συντεταραγμένος *Cobet, Lindskog* 10 πραγμάτων μεγάλων *S* : μεγίστων πραγμάτων *Y* 32 προσιστόρησε : προσιστόρηκε *Ziegler*

### 33 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2.3148C–49A (BT t.1 p.113.1–114.2 Kaibel = t.1 p. 272.29–276.2 Olson)

- 27 W πρῶτοι δὲ Πέρσαι, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ τοὺς λε-  
 D γομένους στρώτας ἐφεῦρον, ἵνα κόσμον ἔχη ἡ στρώσις καὶ  
 εὐάφειαν. τὸν οὖν [Κρήτα] Τιμαγόραν ἢ τὸν ἐκ Γόρτυνος,  
 F 21 E ὥς φησι Φαινίας ὁ περιπατητικός, Ἐντιμον, ὃς ζήλῳ Θεμι-  
 στοκλέους ἀνέβη ὡς βασιλέα, τιμῶν Ἀρταξέρξης σκηνήν 5  
 τε ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαφέρουσιν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος  
 καὶ κλίνην ἀργυρόποδα, ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στρώματα πολυ-  
 τελῇ καὶ τὸν ὑποστρώσοντα, φάσκων οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι  
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑποστρωννύειν. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἄρι-  
 στον ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ Κρής οὗτος, τὸν βασιλέα ψυχαγωγήσας· 10

him, since it is contrary to our customs for the king to give audience to a man who has not paid obeisance to him.”

- 6 Themistocles, when he heard this, said: “My purpose in coming here, Artabanus, is to increase the king’s fame and his power, and I will not only comply with your customs myself, since this is the will of the god who exalt the Persians, but I will multiply the number of  
7 those who now do homage to the king. So do not let this matter stand in the way of what I have to tell him.” “Which of the Greeks,” asked Artabanus, “am I to say has arrived, for you are evidently a man far  
8 out of the ordinary run of intelligence?” “No one,” Themistocles replied, “must learn my name before the king himself.”

This is the story we are told by Phaenias, but Eratosthenes in his treatise *On Wealth* adds that Themistocles secured his interview and his conversation with the vizier through a woman of Eretria whom the latter had married.

<sup>1</sup> Themistocles became probably the most famous Greek politician in Persian exile (among astonishingly many others in the classical period). Modern scholarly opinion assumes that he met king Artaxerxes I at his court in 465/4 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> For the ancient discussion about the precise chronology, see J. Engels, commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 20.

<sup>3</sup> The *chiliarchos*, i.e. Persian royal vizier, Artabanus, killed Xerxes and also tried to remove his successor Artaxerxes I, but in the course of his assault Artabanus was slain himself. So much for his loyalty to the king whom he praises in this text.

<sup>4</sup> *Proskynesis* was the Persian custom of prostration before the king as a ceremonial gesture. Later on in Phaenias’ time, Alexander the Great tried to introduce *proskynesis* into his court ceremonies as well.

### 33 Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 2.31 48C–49A (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 21)

The Persians were the first, according to Heraclides,<sup>1</sup> to institute the  
D so-called ‘bed-makers’ in order that the couches are made ready and soft. Now Timagoras or Entimus<sup>2</sup> from Gortyn [in Crete], as Phaenias the Peripatetic tells us, once went up to visit the great king,<sup>3</sup> emulating Themistocles. In his honor Artaxerxes bestowed upon him a tent of extraordinary beauty and size, and a silver-footed bedstead; he also sent rich coverings and a slave to spread them, alleging that the Greeks did not know how to make beds. This Cretan was even invited to a breakfast of the king’s relatives, since he had caught the king’s  
E fancy; this was an honor never accorded to any Greek before or since,



E ὅπερ οὐδενὶ πρότερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὕστερον. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς συγγενέσι διεφυλάττετο. Τιμαγόρα μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τῷ προσκυνήσαντι βασιλέα καὶ μάλιστα τιμηθέντι τοῦτο οὐχ ὑπῆρξε τῶν δὲ παρατιθεμένων βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τινὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἀπέστελλε. Ἀνταλκίδα δὲ τῷ Λάκωνι τὸν αὐτοῦ στέφανον εἰς μύρον βάψας ἔπεμψε. τῷ δ' Ἐντίμῳ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ  
F ἐποίει καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἄριστον ἐκάλει. ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ Πέρσαι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὥς τῆς τε τιμῆς δημευομένης καὶ στρατείας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν ἐσομένης. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ κλίνην αὐτῷ ἀργυρόποδα καὶ στρωμνὴν καὶ σκηνὴν οὐρανοφόρον ἀνθινὴν καὶ θρόνον ἀργυροῦν καὶ ἐπίχρυσον σκιάδειον καὶ φιάλας λιθοκολλήτους χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι, ἀργυρίδας δὲ μεγάλας ἑκατὸν καὶ κρατῆρας ἀργυροῦς <εἴκοσι> καὶ παιδίσκας ἑκατὸν καὶ παῖδας ἑκατὸν χρυσοῦς  
49A τε ἑξακισχιλίους χωρὶς τῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καθ' ἡμέραν δίδομένων.

1 *Heraclides Cumaeus FGrH / BNJ 689 F 5* 13–14 *Xen. Hell. 7.1.33 et 38*

3 [*Κρήτα*] *del. Kaibel* : τὸν οὖν Τιμ. ἢ τὸν ἐκ Γόρτυνος Κρήτα *Voisin* 23–24 ἀργυρᾶς δὲ μεγάλας *CE* : ἀργυρίδας *Olson* ; 25 <εἴκοσι> *add. Olson* : *fortasse ἀργυροῦς ἑκατὸν Kaibel*

34 Plutarchus, Themistocles 29.11 (BT t.1.1 p.92.20–26 Ziegler)

28 W πόλεις δ' αὐτῷ (*scil.* Themistocles) τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι  
F 22 E δοθῆναι λέγουσιν εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο δ' ἄλλας προστίθησιν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας, Περκώτην καὶ Παλαίσκησιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἀμπεχόνην.

being exclusively reserved for kinsmen. Certainly the Athenian Timagoras<sup>4</sup> never enjoyed the honor, though he had paid obeisance to the king and had been received by him with special favor; but some of the food served to the king was merely sent to him from the table. To the Spartan Antalcidas<sup>5</sup> he sent his own chaplet after dipping it in perfume. But for Entimus he not only did all this, but also invited him to the family lunch. The Persians took umbrage at this, because they felt that the honor was being vulgarized, and also because a new expedition against Greece was impending. But the king sent Entimus a silver-footed bed with its coverings, a tent with gaily-colored canopy, a silver throne, a gilded sun-shade, twenty gold saucers set with jewels, one hundred large saucers of silver and <twenty> silver mixing-  
 49 A bowls, one hundred concubines and one hundred slaves, and six thousand pieces of gold, beside all that was given to him for his daily necessities.

<sup>1</sup> Heraclides of Cyme *FGrH* / *BNJ* 689 was a 4th c. B.C. historian who *inter alia* wrote *Persika*.

<sup>2</sup> Entimus of Gortyn: he travelled to king Artaxerxes I (ruled 465–424) between 457/6 and 454/3 B.C., probably as a diplomat, as most scholars surmise (e.g. G. Zecchini, *Entimo di Gortina (Athen. II 48 d–f) e le relazioni greco-persiane durante la Pentecontaetia*, *AncSoc* 20 (1989), p.5–13. See, however, A. Ruberto, “Entimo di Gortina alla corte di Artaserse II,” *Ktèma* 31 (2006) 341–344, and A. Ruberto, “Il demos, gli aristocratici e i Persiani. Il rapporto con la Persia nella politica ateniese dal 507 al 479 a.C.,” *Historia* 59 (2010) 1–25, who suggested king Artaxerxes II (ruled 405–359 B.C.) and a 4<sup>th</sup>-century context for the journey.

<sup>3</sup> Phaenias makes detailed observations about the Persian court system of feudal grants and royal gifts.

<sup>4</sup> Timagoras the Athenian was sent in a diplomatic mission to Susa in 367 B.C. with the intention of renewing a ‘Common Peace’ in Greece.

<sup>5</sup> Antalcidas the Spartan travelled to Artaxerxes II in 387 to negotiate the famous “Peace of Antalcidas” (also called the “King’s Peace”) of 387/6 B.C. See J. Engels, commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 21 with references.

### 34 Plutarch, *Themistocles* 29.11 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 22)

According to most writers he was given three cities to provide his bread, wine, and meat, namely Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myous, while Neanthes of Cyzicus and Phaenias<sup>1</sup> add two more—Perkote and Palaiskepsis<sup>2</sup>—which supplied his bedding and his clothes.

<sup>1</sup> Several other passages in Plutarch’s *Life of Themistocles* have been tentatively



58      Phaenias of Eresus

1–3 *Thuc. 1.138.5; Diod. 11.57.7; Nep. Themistocles 10.3; Plut. De Alexandri fortuna 5 328E–F*    4 *Neanthes FGrH / BNJ 84 F 17 a*

4 περκώπην *S*

35      Hesychius, Lexicon no. 2560 s.v. Κήρυκες (t.2 p.473.28–31 Latte)

29 W      Κήρυκες· οἱ ἄγγελοι, οἱ διάκονοι, οἱ τὰς ὑπηρετικὰς ἐπι-  
F 23 E    τελοῦντες πράξεις. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ γένος ἰθαγενῶν, ἀπὸ  
Κήρυκος τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. Φανίας. καὶ τοὺς ἐρινάζοντας τοὺς  
ἐρινοὺς κήρυκας λέγουσι.

2–3 *cf. Harp. K 52 s.v. κήρυκες; Isocr. Panegyricus 17.157; IG XIV 1389; Paus. 1.38.3*

De Socraticis

36      Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Philosophorum 6.8 (p.411.86–89 Dorandi  
= p.380.2–5 Marcovich)

30 W      ἐρωτηθεὶς (*scil.* Antisthenes) ὑπὸ του, καθά φησι Φαι-  
F 11 E    νίας ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν, τί ποιῶν καλὸς κάγαθός  
ἔσοιτο, ἔφη, “εἰ τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἔχεις ὅτι φευκτά ἐστι μάθοις  
παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων.”

1 *Antisthenes V A 172 Giannantoni*

1 ὑπό του *P<sup>x</sup>* : ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ *BPF*

assigned to Phaenias by modern scholars (although Phaenias' name is never mentioned there as Plutarch's source); see a list in J. Engels, commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 18, pp. 331–332 and note 181. For none of these passages have convincing arguments been proposed so far, and they have not been included in this collection of Phaenias' texts. See also below the section *Rejected Texts*.

<sup>2</sup> Perkote is situated between Abydus and Lampsacus, Palaiskepsis probably in the valley of the Aisepsus; see on these gifts also Engels, commentary on *FGrH* 1012 F 22.

- 35** Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon* under *Kerykes* (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 23)

*Kerykes*: The messengers, or the servants who fulfill the function of domestics. *Kerykes* (i.e. 'the Heralds') was also the name of a noble family clan, which derives its name from Keryx,<sup>1</sup> the son of Hermes, as Phaenias says. *Kerykes* are also called the people who hang boughs of the wild fig-tree near a cultivated fig-tree.

<sup>1</sup> Phaenias follows a family tradition of the Kerykes, an Eleusinian priestly family clan, that they were descendants of Keryx, son of Hermes, and not of Eumolpus, as the most authoritative ancient sources stated. The war between Eleusis and Athens was one of the most important events in Athenian history in the (mythical) period of kings. Erechtheus, king of Athens, defeated Eumolpus, leader of the Eleusinians and their (Thracian) allies, but respected the Eleusinian mystery cult and allowed Eumolpus and his descendants to take over the prestigious role of priest at Eleusis. Pausanias 1.38.3, however, calls Keryx the son of Eumolpus.

## On the Socratics

- 36** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 6.8 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 11)

Phaenias in his work *On the Socratics* tells us how someone asked him (*scil.* Antisthenes<sup>1</sup>) what he must do to be a good and noble man, and he replied, "you must learn from those who know that the faults you have are to be avoided."

<sup>1</sup> On Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynics and one of Socrates' prominent disciples, see *DPhA* A 211 M.-O. Goulet-Cazé. As far as we know, Phaenias was among the first authors to treat the Socratics, in a monograph, as a group of disciples of one philosopher, Socrates. Hence, the title *On the Socratics* is important in the history of ancient Greek biography as a genre. For another early work, see Idomeneus of Lampsacus, fr. 24–28 Angeli.



De Socraticis?

**37** Diogenes Laertius, Vitae philosophorum 2.65 (p.190.3–8 Dorandi = p.136.17–137.4 Marcovich)

31 W οὗτος (*scil.* Aristippus) σοφιστεύσας, ὥς φησι Φαινίας ὁ  
F 12 E περιπατητικὸς ὁ Ἑρέσιος, πρῶτος τῶν Σωκρατικῶν μι-  
σθοῦς εἰσεπράξατο καὶ ἀπέστειλε χρήματα τῷ διδασκάλῳ.  
καὶ ποτε πέμψας αὐτῷ μνᾶς εἴκοσι παλινδρόμους ἔλαβεν,  
εἰπόντος Σωκράτους τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν· 5  
ἐδυσχέραινε γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

1 *Aristippus IV A 1–14 Giannantoni*

1 *Φαινίας Mannebach, Giannantoni : Φανίας codd.*

De poetis

**38** Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 8.46 352C–D (BT t.2 p.272.9–14 Kaibel = t.4 p.110.19–112.4 Olson)

32 W Φαινίας δ' ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ ποιητῶν  
F 13 E “Στρατόνικος,” φησὶν, “ὁ Ἀθηναῖος δοκεῖ τὴν πολυχορ-  
δίαν εἰς τὴν ψιλὴν κιθάρισιν πρῶτος εἰσενεγκεῖν καὶ  
D πρῶτος μαθητὰς τῶν ἁρμονικῶν ἔλαβε καὶ διάγραμμα  
συνεστήσατο. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ οὐκ ἀπίθανος.” 5

4 ἁρμονικῶν *corr. Schweighäuser : ἁρμενικῶν A*

## On the Socratics?

- 37** Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 2.65 (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 12)

Having come forward as a lecturer (or “sophist”), as Phaenias of Eresus, the Peripatetic, informs us,<sup>1</sup> he (*scil.* Aristippus<sup>2</sup>) was the first of Socrates’ followers to charge fees and send money to his master; on one occasion a sum of twenty *minai* (= 2000 *drachmai*) which he had sent was returned to him. Socrates declared that the supernatural sign (*scil.* *to daimonion*) would not let him take it; the very offer in fact annoyed him.

<sup>1</sup> This text might also be assigned to Phaenias’ treatise *Against the Sophists*.

<sup>2</sup> Aristippus of Cyrene, founder of the School of Cyrene, accepted large sums of money for his teaching (as the sophists already did a generation earlier), as we learn from several sources, because this was a major and disputed issue among early Socratics. See Aristippus IV A 1–14 Giannantoni for other testimony that Aristippus took money for his teaching. Aristotle calls Aristippus a *sophistes* (*Metaphysics* 996a32). See in general on Aristippus *DPhA* A 356 F. Caujolle-Zaslowsky.

## On Poets

- 38** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 8.46 352C–D (transl. Engels *FGrH* 1012 F 13)

The Peripatetic Phaenias, in the second book of his treatise *On Poets*, says, “Stratonicus<sup>1</sup> of Athens, it is agreed, was the first to introduce multiplicity of notes in simple harp-playing; he was also the first to receive pupils in harmonics, and to compile a table of musical intervals.<sup>2</sup> Nor in the matter of humor did he fail to hit the mark.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stratonicus was a famous Athenian cithara player, a composer of innovative music, and music teacher, ca. 410–360 B.C. Musical innovations and their inventors were an interesting field of research for Peripatetic scholars. See the commentaries by Wehrli on his fr. 32 and Engels on *FGrH* 1012 F 13.

<sup>2</sup> Olson v.2, p.110.19–112.4 translates the middle part of this passage differently: “Stratonicus of Athens appears to have been the first to introduce multiple tunings to unaccompanied cithara-playing as well as the first to take students in musical theory and to produce a visual representation of a scale.” Schweighäuser v.4, p.616–617 explains διάγραμμα as *tabulaturas*.



MIRABILIA (?)

**39A**    [Antigonus Carystius], *Rerum mirabilium collectio* 155 (p.66 Musso) = Callimachus Fr. 407.27 Pfeiffer

34 W      Φανίαν δὲ τὴν τῶν †Πυράκων† λίμνην, ὅταν ἀναξη-  
ρανθῇ, κάεσθαι.

1 †Πυράκων† : *Τυράκων Bursian, Riese, Keller : Συράκων Marsili, Bentley, Παλίκων White et alii aliter, vide app. crit. apud Musso; “res nondum diiudicata” Pfeiffer*

**39B**    [Antigonus Carystius], *Rerum mirabilium collectio* 156 (p.66 Musso) = Callimachus Fr. 407.28 Pfeiffer

34 W      καὶ τὴν Ἀσκανίαν πότιμον οὖσαν τὸ προσενεχθὲν αὐτῇ  
πλύνειν ἄνευ ῥύμματος, ἐὰν ἐαθῇ δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ πλείω χρό-  
νον, διαπίπτειν αὐτόματον.

1–3 cf. *Ps.-Arist. Mirabilia* 53; *Plin. Nat. hist.* 31.110

**40**      [Antigonus Carystius], *Rerum mirabilium collectio* 171 (p.70–71 Musso) = Callimachus Fr. 407.42 Pfeiffer

35 W      Φανίαν δὲ κατὰ τινὰς τόπους τῆς Λέσβου καὶ περὶ τῶν  
Νεανδριέων (?) τὰς βώλους πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὄψεων παθήσεις  
γίνεσθαι χρησίμας. καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ ἐμβληθείσας οὔτε κατα-  
δύνειν οὔτε κατατήκεσθαι. ὑπὸ τοῦτο τὸ γένος πίπτοι ἂν

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the following words in Athenaeus are also relevant to Phaenias' interest in Stratonice: "they say that he actually died as a result of his outspoken willingness to make jokes, when the Cyprian king Nicomedes (reigned 374/3–360 B.C.) forced him to drink poison, because he poked fun at the king's sons" (transl. Olson p.112.4–7).

## MARVELS (?)

### 39A [Antigonus of Carystus], *Collection of Marvels* 155

(*scil.* Callimachus, however, reports that) according to Phaenias the lake of the Pyrakoi (?) would catch fire when dried up.

### 39B [Antigonus of Carystus], *Collection of Marvels* 156

(According to Phaenias,) the Ascania (*scil.* a source) is drinkable and cleanses without any additional substance whatever one brings into it; if, however, something is allowed a longer time in it (the water of the Ascania), it falls apart<sup>1</sup> without external agency.

<sup>1</sup> Texts **39A/B** and **40** ultimately come from a collection of strange reports compiled by the famous scholar Callimachus, but this work was wrongly ascribed later on in antiquity to the Hellenistic scholar Antigonus of Carystus (see the arguments in Musso's edition). As usual with such texts, we simply must regret the complete lack of context. Since ancient readers enjoyed such stories very much, we cannot rule out that they were included in other (historical?) works of Phaenias, and not in a separate collection of *Mirabilia*. For more *Mirabilia* reports that have been tentatively ascribed to Phaenias, see below the section on *Rejected Texts*. See on Phaenias and the ancient *Mirabilia*-tradition also S. White's contribution in this volume.

### 40 [Antigonus of Carystos], *Collection of Marvels* 171

(*scil.* Callimachus, however, relates that) according to Phaenias at some places on Lesbos and in the area of the inhabitants of Neandria lumps of earth are helpful against diseases of the eyes; if one throws them into water, they neither sink nor melt away (in the same category of things the brick at Pitane probably also belongs which is said to float).



**64    Phaenias of Eresus**

καὶ ἐν Πιτάνῃ πλίνθος ἡ λεγομένη ἐπιπλεῖν. 5

4–5 *Vitr. De arch. 2.3.4; Plin. Nat. hist. 35.171; Strabo Geog. 13.1.67 C 614.30–615.2*

2 *Νεανδρίδων codex : Νεανδριέων Holstenius, Wehrli : Νεανδρέων Musso*  
3 *lacuna post γίνεσθαι ? Schneider*

**BOTANICA**

**De plantis?**

**41A** Plinius maior, Naturalis historia 1.51, libri 21 argumentum (BT t.1 p.70.8–11 Mayhoff)

36 W        ex auctoribus ... externis ... medicis Mnesitheo qui de coronis, Callimacho qui item, Phania physico, Simo ...

*vide 54*

**41B** Plinius maior, Naturalis historia 1.53, libri 22 argumentum (BT t.1 p.73.8–11 Mayhoff)

36 W        ex auctoribus iisdem quibus priore libro et praeter eos Chrysermo, Eratosthene, Alcaeo.

*Cf. 41A*

**41C** Plinius maior, Naturalis historia 1.56, libri 23 argumentum (BT t.1 p.76.46–48 Mayhoff)

36 W        ex auctoribus ... externis ... medicis Mnesitheo, Callimacho, Phania physico, Timaristo, Simo ...

## BOTANY

### On Plants?

**41A** Pliny, *Natural History*, 1.51, description of book 21

Foreign authors ... physicians:<sup>1</sup>

Mnesitheus who wrote on crowns, also Callimachus, Phaenias the expert on nature, Simus ...

<sup>1</sup> Pliny describes Phaenias as a *physicus*, an expert on nature, and he ranks him among the “foreign physicians” among his sources for books 21/22–26, probably because in Phaenias’ botanical works (esp. in *On Plants*) there were many remarks on the pharmacological qualities and medicinal effects of different plants; see on Phaenias as Pliny’s source in book 23 Mayhoff v.1 p.76.22, on book 24 Mayhoff 81.9, on book 25 Mayhoff 86.16, and on book 26 Mayhoff 89.1–2. Strangely, Phaenias is not cited by Pliny along with Theophrastus, but in **41A–F** along with Callimachus and a less known Simus. One may also wonder why Phaenias is not explicitly mentioned as a foreign source for Pliny’s books 12–17, 18–20 and 27, although botanical issues are treated there too.

**41B** Pliny, *Natural History*, 1.53, description of book 22

From the same authors as the preceding book and aside from them, Chrysermus, Eratosthenes, Alcaeus.

**41C** Pliny, *Natural History*, 1.56, description of book 23

Foreign authors ... physicians:

Mnesitheus, Callimachus, Phaenias the expert on nature, Timaristus, Simus ...



**66     Phaenias of Eresus**

**41D** Plinius maior, Naturalis historia 1.59, libri 24 argumentum (BT t.1 p.81.7–9 Mayhoff)

36 W        ex auctoribus ... externis ... medicis Mnesitheo, Callimacho, Phania physico, Timaristo, Simo ...

**41E** Plinius maior, Naturalis historia 1.59, libri 25 argumentum (BT t.1 p.86.14–16 Mayhoff)

36 W        ex auctoribus ... externis ... medicis Mnesitheo, Callimacho, Phania physico, Timaristo, Simo ...

**41F** Plinius maior, Naturalis historia 1.62, libri 26 argumentum (BT t.1 p.89.25–27 Mayhoff)

36 W        ex auctoribus ... externis ... medicis Mnesitheo, Callimacho, Phania physico, Timaristo, Simo ...

**De plantis**

**42** Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 2.59 61F (BT t.1 p.144.24–145.3 Kaibel = t.1 p. 346.9–13 Olson)

37 W        καὶ Φαινίας δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν· “τὰ δὲ οὐδὲ φύει τὴν ἀνθήλην οὐδὲ τῆς σπερματικῆς ἵχνος κορυνήσεως οὐδὲ σπερματώσεως, οἷον μύκης, ὕδνον, πτέρις, ἔλιξ.” ὁ αὐτός φησι· “πτέρις, ἣν ἔνιοι βλάχνον καλοῦσι.”

4 βλάχνον cf. Hesych. s.v. βλαχρὸν Latte

2 ἀνθίνην CE : ἀνθήλην Casaubonus

**41D** Pliny, *Natural History*, 1.59, description of book 24

Foreign authors ... physicians:  
Mnesitheus, Callimachus, Phaenias the expert on nature, Timaristus,  
Simus ...

**41E** Pliny, *Natural History*, 1.59, description of book 25

Foreign authors ... physicians:  
Mnesitheus, Callimachus, Phaenias the expert on nature, Timaristus,  
Simus ...

**41F** Pliny, *Natural History*, 1.62, description of book 26

Foreign authors ... physicians:  
Mnesitheus, Callimachus, Phaenias the expert on nature, Timaristus,  
Simus ...

## On Plants

**42** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 2.59 61F (transl. Olson v.1, p.347)

Also Phaenias in his first book of *On Plants* (writes): “some produce no flower-tuft or trace of a seed-pod or seed-production, for instance the mushroom, truffle, fern, and ivy.” And the same author says: “the fern, which some authorities refer to as *blachnon*.<sup>1</sup>”

<sup>1</sup> It remains unclear who precisely belongs to the “authorities” who refer to the fern (*pteris*) as *blachnon*. And does that mean that some ancient Greek authors used *pteris* and *blachnon* as synonyms for fern, or is *blachnon* a certain species of fern? In Hesychius’ *Lexicon* probably the same plant is called *blachron*. E.H.F. Meyer’s brief notes, *Geschichte der Botanik*, v.1, Königsberg 1854 (repr. Amsterdam 1965), pp.189–193 (§ 23 *Phanias von Eresos*), remain very useful on these texts. He also offers German translations. See also the learned notes in S. Amigues *Théophraste, Recherches sur les plants*, vv.1–5, Paris 1988–2006. See on this text and the following ones taken from Athenaeus on botanical topics the contributions of Siede, Zucker, and Anceschi in this volume.



68 Phaenias of Eresus

43 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2.83 70D (BT t.1 p.165.27–166.3 Kaibel = t.1 p.396.25–398.3 Olson)

38 W Φαινίας δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν κάκτον Σικελικὴν  
τινα καλεῖ, ἀκανθῶδες φυτόν, ὥς καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν ἑκτῷ  
περὶ φυτῶν· “ἡ δὲ κάκτος καλουμένη περὶ Σικελίαν μόνον,  
ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι δ' οὐκ ἔστι.”

2 *Theophr.* 413 no. 60 *FHS&G*; cf. *Hist. plant.* 6.4.10–11 2–4 *Plin. Nat. hist.* 21.97

3 καλουμένη Kaibel : καλούμενος E

44 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 9.12 371C–D (BT t.2 p.311.20–312.5 Kaibel = t.4 p.210.21–212.4 Olson)

39 W Φαινίας δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν γράφει οὕτως· “κατὰ  
δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ σπέρματος φύσιν ὁ καλούμενος σῆψ καὶ  
τὸ τοῦ σταφυλίνου σπέρμα.” κἂν τῷ πρώτῳ δέ φησι· “πε-  
τασώδη τὴν τῶν σπερμάτων ἀπείληφε φύσιν ἄννησον,  
μάραθον, σταφυλῖνος, καυκαλῖς, κώνειον, κόριον, σκίλλα, 5  
ἣν ἔνιοι μυηφόνον.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρου ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ Νίκ-  
ανδρος, προσαποδοτέον ὅτι καὶ Φαινίας ἐν τῷ προειρη-  
μένῳ βιβλίῳ γράφει οὕτως· “δρακόντιον, ὃ ἔνιοι ἄρον  
[ἄρωνία].”

6–7 *Nicander Fr.* 71.4 *Schneider*

2 ὁ καλούμενος σῆψ *corruptelam suspexit Meyer* 4 ἄννησον *forma poetica, item paulo post μυηφόνον Kaibel* 5 σκιάς *cod.: σκίλλα coni. Wilamowitz, Wehrli, Olson* 8–9 ἄρον ἄρωνία A : ἄρωνία *corruptum Kaibel: ἄρον Olson*

- 43 Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 2.83 70D (transl. Olson v.1, pp. 397–399)

Phaenias in book five of *On Plants* mentions a Sicilian cactus, which is a spiny plant. Likewise Theophrastus<sup>1</sup> in book six of *On Plants* (says): “the so-called *kaktos* is found only around Sicily, and not in Greece.”

<sup>1</sup> In this text and others on botanical topics Phaenias and Theophrastus are quoted together. This may illustrate their shared scholarly research interests in a precise description of plants, their denomination and taxonomy, the breeding of plants, and their usage as food or drugs for humans and animals. At least these are the topics of the following texts from Phaenias. See 3 and 41–55 and Wehrli’s brief notes on his Phaenias fr. 36–50. E.H.F. Meyer’s notes, *Geschichte der Botanik*, v.1, Königsberg 1854 (repr. Amsterdam 1965), pp.189–193 (§ 23 Phania von Eresos), remain useful. Most ancient authors use the feminine form ἡ κάκτος; others, however, use the masculine. The Sicilian cactus may perhaps be identified with *Cynara cardunculus*.

- 44 Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 9.12 371C–D (transl. Olson v.4, pp. 211–213)

Phaenias in book five of *On Plants* writes as follows: “as for the character of the seed itself, the so-called *seps*<sup>1</sup> (?) and carrot-seed.” And in book one he says: “Plants with unbelliferous seed-pods are anise, fennel, carrot, *kaukalis* (?), hemlock, coriander, and squill (referred to by some authorities as mousebane).” Given that Nicander mentioned cuckoo-pint, I should also acknowledge that Phaenias writes in the book quoted above: “*drakontion*, referred to by some authorities as cuckoo-pint.”

<sup>1</sup> Neither *LSJ* nor Olson offer useful translations for *seps*, *kaukalis*, or *drakontion*. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, v.1, pp.192–3, discussed this fragment. For *kaukalis* he suggested in German “Pimpernelle” (“burnet”). He makes no German proposal for *drakontion*, but thinks that *seps* is a corrupted form of another rare botanical term. He concludes: “Die hier vorkommenden ungewöhnlichen Pflanzennamen, von denen wir sonst nichts wissen, erklären zu wollen, wäre vergebliche Mühe.” See most recently on *seps* L. Bodson, *L’Interpretation des noms grecs et latins d’animaux, illustré par le cas du zoonyme seps-seps*, Brussels 2009, pp.231–232, who thinks that *seps* is almost certainly an animal (a viper?), not a plant.



70      Phaenias of Eresus

De plantis?

45      Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 1.53 29F (BT t.1 p.68.18–20 Kaibel = t.1 p.170.1–3 Olson)

40 W      φησὶ δὲ Φαινίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος Μενδαίους τοὺς βότρυς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ ῥαίνειν τῷ ἐλατηρίῳ· διὸ γίνεσθαι τὸν οἶνον μαλακόν.

1 φαινίας C : φανίας E    3 μαλακικόν Casaubonus

46      Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 1.58 31F–32A (BT t.1 p.74.4–10  
A–C Kaibel = t.1 p.182.3–8 Olson)

41 W      περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθοσμίου οἴνου σκευασίας Φαινίας ὁ  
32 A Ἐρέσιός φησι τάδε· (A) “γλεύκει παραχεῖται παρὰ χοῦς πεντήκοντα εἰς θαλάσσης καὶ γίνεται ἀνθοσμίας.” (B) καὶ πάλιν· “ἀνθοσμίας γίνεται ἐκ νέων ἀμπέλων ἰσχυρότερος ἢ ἐκ παλαιῶν.” (C) ἐξῆς τέ φησι· “τὰς ὀμφακώδεις συμπατήσαντες ἀπέθεντο καὶ ἀνθοσμίας ἐγένετο.” 5

2 παρεγγεῖται Musurus ; περὶ τοὺς CE : παρὰ Casaubonus, παρὰ χοῦς Porson, Kaibel

47      Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 2.37 51E (BT t.1 p.121.1–7 Kaibel = t.1 p.290.23–292.1 Olson)

42 W      Φαινίας δ’ <ὁ> Ἐρέσιος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητὴς τὸν τῆς ἀγρίας συκαμίνου καρπὸν μόρον καλεῖ, ὄντα καὶ αὐτὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ ἥδιστον ὅτε πεπανθείη. γράφει δὲ οὕτως· τὸ μόρον τὸ βατῶδες ξηρανθείσης τῆς σφαίρας τῆς συκαμινώδους σπερματικὰς ἔχει τὰς συκαμινώδεις ἴδιαγονάς†, 5

## On Plants?

- 45** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 1.53 29F (transl. Olson v.1, p.171)

Phaenias of Eresus reports that the inhabitants of Mende<sup>1</sup> sprinkle their grapes with squirting-cucumber juice,<sup>2</sup> while they are still on the vine, and says that the wine becomes therefore mild.

<sup>1</sup> Mende is a Greek polis located on the Pallene, the western “finger” of the Chalcidice peninsula; today, this is still an area of rich wine production (as it was in ancient Greece, cf. Dem. 35). See on the topic of wine also **46** and **55**.

<sup>2</sup> Squirting-cucumber juice (*elaterion*: Latin *Momordica Elaterium* Linn.) was used to keep away animals that harmed the grapes.

- 46** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 1.58 31F–32A (transl. Olson, v.1, **A–C** p.183 modified)

Phaenias of Eresus says the following about how *anthosmias*<sup>1</sup> wine (‘the flower-scented wine’) is produced:

32 A (A) “One *chous* (c. 3.2 litres) of sea-water is added to every 50 of grape-must, producing *anthosmias*.”

(B) And again: “stronger *anthosmias* is produced from young vines than from older ones.”

(C) And immediately after this he says: “they trod on sour grapes and put (the juice) into storage, and it turned into *anthosmias*.”

<sup>1</sup> “Da Anthosmias hier offenbar nicht ein aus wohlriechenden Kräutern bereiteter Wein ist, möchte ich darunter einen solchen verstehen, der nach unserer Ausdrucksweise viel Blume hat.” Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, v.1, p.190. *Anthosmias* was esteemed as one of the most delicious sorts of Greek wine, cf. Aristoph. *Wealth* 808, *Frogs* 150, or Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.4.

- 47** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 2.37 51E (transl. Olson v.1, pp. 291–293, modified)

Phaenias of Eresus, a disciple of Aristotle, refers to the fruit of the wild mulberry as a *moron*;<sup>1</sup> it is quite sweet and enjoyable when ripe. He writes as follows: the blackberry-*moron*, when its mulberry-like sphere has dried, has mulberry-like (veined?) divisions full of seeds, just like salty (or dark like the sea?):<sup>2</sup> and it has segments that are

72      **Phaenias of Eresus**

καθάπερ ῥύφάλους† καὶ διαφυὰς ἔχει ψαθυρὰς καὶ εὐχύμους.

1–5 *Eust. ad Hom. Il. 11.118 (t.3 p.167.7–9 van der Valk)*

1 <ό> *add. Dindorf*    5–6 ῥδιαγονάς† *Wehrli* : ἔχει τὰς [συκαμινώδεις] γονάς *Schneider* : διατομάς *Kaibel*;    6 ῥύφάλους† *Wehrli*, *C* : ὑφάνους *E* : ὑποφαινούσας *Schneider* ; διαφυὰς *C* : διαφορὰς *E*    *Olson ad locum*: “the passage is corrupt and probably contains a lacuna”

**De plantis**

**48**      *Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 2.44 54F (BT t.1 p.128.9–12 Kaibel = t.1 p.306.27–29 Olson)*

43 W      Φαινίας δ’ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Φυτῶν φησι: “τραγήματος ἔχει χώραν ἀπαλὰ μὲν ὤχρος, κύαμος, ἐρέβινθος, ξηρὰ δὲ ἐφθὰ καὶ φρυκτὰ σχεδὸν τὰ πλεῖστα.”

1–3 *cf. Theophr. Hist. plant. 8.5.1*

2 ξηρὰ δὲ *Kaibel, Olson* : ξηρὰ δὴ *E*

**49**      *Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 2.52 58D–E (BT t.1 p.137.7–13 Kaibel = t.1 p. 328.21–27 Olson)*

44 W      Φαινίας δ’ ἐν τοῖς Φυτικοῖς φησι· “τῆς ἡμέρου μαλάχης ὁ σπερματικὸς τύπος καλεῖται πλακοῦς, ἐμφερῆς ὢν αὐτῷ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτενῶδες ἀνάλογον καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ πλακοῦντος κρηπὶς, κατὰ μέσον δὲ τοῦ πλακουντικοῦ ὄγκου τὸ κέντρον ὀμφαλικόν. καὶ περιληφθείσης τῆς κρηπίδος ὅμοιον 5 γίνεται τοῖς θαλαττίοις περιγεγραμμένοις ἐρίνοις.”

1 *Hes. Op. 41*

5 περιλεφθείσης *Egger*    6 περιτετραμμένοις *Fournier*



crumbly and flavorful.

<sup>1</sup> Already Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, v.1, p.191, and most recently Olson suspects the passage to be corrupt. Olson, v.1, p.291 note 115 adds, “In fact, Phaenias is clearly describing blackberries, which he compares repeatedly to mulberries. The passage is corrupt and probably contains a lacuna.”

<sup>2</sup> The wording of the Greek is corrupt. Hence, any translation can offer merely a suggestion.

## On Plants

- 48** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 2.44 54F (transl. Olson v.1, p.307, modified)

Phaenias in his *On Plants* says: “Cyprus vetch, fava beans, and chickpeas are categorized as snacks, when green; however, mostly (*scil.* they are eaten) when dried and boiled or roasted.”

- 49** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 2.52 58D–E (transl. Olson v.1, p. 329)

Phaenias says in his *On Plants*<sup>1</sup>: “the seed-pod of the domesticated mallow<sup>2</sup> is referred to as a ‘flatcake’, since it looks like one; because the scalloped part resembles the bottom of the cake, and in the middle of the cake-like mass is a nub like a belly-button. When the bottom is removed, it is like sea urchins drawn in outline.”

<sup>1</sup> **49** refers to the title of Phaenias’ botanical work as (*Ta*) *Phytika*, whereas other texts call it *Peri Phyton*. In Athenaeus the context of the passage is an excursus on different common items on appetizer plates.

<sup>2</sup> The domesticated mallow is a species of *Malva silvestris*. See already Schweighäuser’s learned commentary in v.1, pp. 392–393, mainly on the wording of this text, and M.L. West’s note, *Hesiod Works and Days*, Oxford 1978, pp. 152–153, on Hes. *Op.* 41. The text also testifies to Phaenias’ quality of making strikingly fitting comparisons in his descriptions. Olson rightly comments (v.1, p.329 n. 164) on “like sea urchins drawn in outline”: “Referring to the way the individual seeds within the pod sit tight-packed against one another around the core.” On the use of metaphor in Phaenias’ botanical descriptions, see B. Anceschi, “Die Metapher als Untersuchungsmittel

- 50 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2.67 64D (BT t.1 p.151.4–13 Kaibel = t.1 p. 360.24–362.9 Olson)

45 W Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Φυτικῶν “ἐνιαχοῦ, φησίν, οὕτω γλυκεῖς εἰσιν οἱ βολβοὶ ὥστε καὶ ὠμοὺς ἐσθίεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ Χερρονήσῳ.” τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Φαινίας. “ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένος,” φησί, “βολβῶν, [Θεόφραστος], ἐριοφόρων, ὃ φύεται ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς. ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἔριον 5 ὑπὸ τοὺς πρώτους χιτῶνας, ὥστε ἀνὰ μέσον εἶναι τοῦ ἐδωδίμου τοῦ ἐντὸς καὶ τοῦ ἔξω.” ὑφαίνεται δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πόδεια καὶ ἄλλα ἱμάτια, ὡς καὶ Φαινίας φησί, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς τριχῶδές ἐστι.

1 Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 7.13.8 1–9 Plin. *Nat. hist.* 19.32; 19.95.

4–5 [Θεόφραστος] Olson : βολβῶν, Θεόφραστος CE 8 πόδεια καὶ E : ποδειακὰ C

- 51 Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 2.78 68D (BT t.1 p.161.11–14 Kaibel = t.1 p. 388.4–7 Olson)

46 W Φαινίας· βρωτὰ μὲν ἀπαλὰ τῷ περικαρπίῳ σικυὸς καὶ πέπων ἄνευ τοῦ σπέρματος, πεττόμενον δὲ τὸ περικάρπιον μόνον. κολοκύντη δὲ ὠμὴ μὲν ἄβρωτος, ἐφθὴ δὲ καὶ ὀπτὴ βρωτή.

2 τὸ περικάρπιον Casaubonus : <ὅλα σὺν τῷ> περικαρπίῳ e.g. *proponit* Kaibel : τῷ ἑπικαρπίῳ CE

- 52A Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 3.28 84C–D (BT t.1 p.195.16–22 Kaibel = t.1 p. 464.22–466.3 Olson)

47a W τούτοις εἴ τις ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει ὅτι μὴ τὸ νῦν κιτρίον

bei der botanischen Beschreibung der Malvenfrucht im Frg. 44 (Wehrli) des Phainias von Eresos,” in *Antike Naturwissenschaft und ihre Rezeption* 20 (2012) 39–49. On Phaenias’ fitting comparisons and detailed descriptions see also Anceschi and Siede in this volume.

- 50** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 2.67 64D (transl. Olson v.1, p. 363 modified)

Theophrastus says in book seven of *On Plants*:<sup>1</sup> “in some places the hyacinth bulbs are so sweet that they can be eaten raw, as for example in the Tauric Chersonese.” Phaenias records the same fact. Theophrastus also says, “there is a wool-bearing variety of hyacinth bulb, which grows on sea-shores. Its wool is under its outer layers, and is thus between the edible interior and the skin.” Socks and other items of clothing are woven from it, as Phaenias reports; and the Indian variety is hairy.

<sup>1</sup> In my opinion this text does not prove that the original title of Phaenias’ botanical work was *Phytika* (rather than *Peri Phyton*). See also **49**. Again, the common interests of Theophrastus and Phaenias in botanical and zoological issues become clear. See, still useful, G. Senn, *Die Pflanzenkunde des Theophrast von Eresos*, Basel 1956.

- 51** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 2.78 68D (transl. Olson v.1, p. 389)

Phaenias (says):<sup>1</sup> cucumbers and melons are edible, except for the seeds, once the flesh is soft; the flesh is the only part that is cooked. Gourds are inedible when raw, but are edible if stewed or baked.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, v.1, pp. 191–192 translated: “Solange sie zart sind, werden die Gurke und die Melone mit dem Fruchstil gegessen, ohne den Samen; reif aber nur die Fruchthülle.”

<sup>2</sup> Immediately after this text follows as context a long quotation taken from Diocles’ of Carystus treatise *On Matters of Health* (Diocles fr. 196 van der Eijk), which discusses wild plants fit for stewing.

- 52A** Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 3.28 84C–D (transl. Olson v.1, pp. 465–467)

If anyone wishes to object to these arguments that what is today



λεγόμενον σημαίνεται, σαφέστερα μαρτύρια παρατιθέσθω·  
καίτοι καὶ Φαινίου τοῦ Ἐρεσίου ἔννοιαν ἡμῖν διδόντος  
μήποτε ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου τὸ κέδριον ὠνόμασται. καὶ γὰρ  
τὴν κέδρον φησὶν ἐν πέμπτῳ περὶ φυτῶν ἀκάνθας ἔχειν 5  
περὶ τὰ φύλλα. ὅτι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὸ κιτρίον  
ἐστὶ παντὶ δῆλον.

1–7 cf. *Theophr. Hist. plant.* 4.4.2–3; *Plin. Nat. hist.* 12.15–16 1–2 *Dioscurides* 1.115.5

4 τὸ κίτριον ὠνόμασται scripsit Wehrli collato Fr. 47b = **52B** : κέδριον  
codices, Kaibel, Olson

**52B** Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. Κίτριον (p.515.48–52 Gaisford)

47b W      Κίτριον· Φάνης ὁ Ἐρέσιος ἔννοιαν ἡμῖν δίδωσι, μήποτε  
ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου τὸ κίτριον ὠνόμασται καὶ γὰρ τὴν κέδρον  
φασὶν ἀκάνθας ἔχειν περὶ τὰ φύλλα, ὥς τὸ κίτριον. Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι δὲ ἀπὸ τόπου αὐτὸ ἐτυμολογοῦσιν. ὦρος.

1 *Hesych. Lex. no.* 2800 s.v. κιτρίον t.2 p. 482,21 Latte 1–3 *Zon. Lex. κιτρίον*

1 Φάνης cod. : Φανίας Hemsterhuis

**53** Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 9.71 406B–C (BT t.2 p.386.1–9  
Kaibel = t.4 p.396.2–10 Olson)

48 W      ἔτι δὲ τῶν τοιούτων περὶ ὧν Φαινίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος ἐν τοῖς  
Περὶ Φυτῶν τάδε γράφει· “πᾶσα γὰρ χεδροπώδης ἡμερος  
φύσις ἐνσπέρματος ἢ μὲν ἐψήσεως ἔνεκα σπείρεται, οἷον  
[ὁ] κύαμος, πισός· ἐτνηρὸν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἔψημα γίνεται·  
τὰ δὲ πάλιν αὐθις λεκιθώδη, καθάπερ ἄρακος· τὸ δὲ φα- 5  
κῆς, οἷον [ἀφάκη,] φακός· τὸ δὲ χόρτου ἔνεκα τῶν τετρα-  
πόδων ζώων, οἷον ὄροβος μὲν ἀροτήρων βοῶν, ἀφάκη δὲ

called the citron is not being referred to, he should provide evidence clearer than this, although Phaenias of Eresus offers us the hypothesis that perhaps the juniper berry (*kedrion*)<sup>1</sup> produced by the juniper tree is what is being discussed. For he says in book five of *On Plants* that the leaves of the juniper tree are surrounded by spines; that the same is true of the citron is absolutely clear.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately before this text Athenaeus summarizes in 83A–84C a discussion that arose among the learned banqueters as to whether the ancient authors mentioned the citron anywhere. Strictly speaking, Phaenias in book five of *On Plants* was concerned with the leaves of the juniper tree (*kedrion*; *Juniperus Lycia* or *Juniperus Oxycedrus*? see Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, vol.1, p.192 and note 2), and we cannot be sure about his position concerning the etymology of *kitrion*. Interestingly, Meyer, p.192, seems to concur with Wehrli's later opinion. At first, κίτρος, κίτριον and Latin *citrus*, meant coniferous trees such as *Callitris articulata*. Then, after Alexander's campaign, the word was used also for *Citrus medica*. *Citrus limonum*, our lemon tree, and its fruits were brought to southern Europe only centuries after Phaenias' time in the early medieval period by the Arabs.

## 52B Etymologicum Magnum under *kitrion*

*Kitrion*: Phanes of Eresus offers us the hypothesis that the *kitrion*<sup>1</sup> is perhaps named after the juniper tree (*kedros*). For he says that the juniper tree has spines surrounding the leaves, as the *kitrion* does. The Athenians derive the etymology of *kitrion* from a place, (says) Oros.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On *kitrion* and *kedros* see the note on 52A.

<sup>2</sup> Oros was a 5th c. A.D. grammarian and lexicographer. He came from Alexandria and worked in Constantinople. Perhaps this is a reference to Oros' *Collection of Attic Words*; see K. Alpers, *Das attizistische Lexikon des Oros*, SGLG 4, Berlin 1981.

## 53 Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters* 9.71 406B–C (transl. Olson v.4, p. 397)

... along with items of the sort discussed by Phaenias of Eresus in his *On Plants*, where he writes the following: Because all domesticated leguminous plants produce seeds. One type is sown in order to be cooked (for example beans and peas, which are boiled to make soup), while other varieties are more suited to producing gruel (for example *arakos*) or for porridge (for example lentils). The second type is planted to provide forage for four-legged animals (for example

78      Phaenias of Eresus

προβάτων.”

3 σπείρεται *Musurus* : σπείρεται δὲ *A*; *orationem mutilam esse monuit Kaibel, sed vide σπείρεται {δέ}, οἶον {ὁ} κύαμος Neri*; 6 οἶον [*ἀφάκη*,] φακός· τὸ δὲ χόρτον *Olson* : οἶον *ἀφάκη*, φακός τὸ δὲ χόρτον *Neri*

54      Plinius maior, *Naturalis historia* 22.35 (BT t.3 p.450.23–451.3 Mayhoff)

49 W      condidit laudes eius (*scil.* urticae) Phantias physicus, utilissimam cibis coctam conditamve professus arteriae, tussi, ventris destillationi, stomacho, panis, parotidibus, pernionibus, cum oleo sudorem, coctam cum conchyliis ciere alvom, cum tisana pectus purgare mulierum menses, cum sale ulcera quae serpant 5  
cohibere.

1–3 *cf. Celsus Med. 4.10.4*

De plantis?

55      Scholion in Theocriti *Idyllium* 7.133/134C (p.110.8–11 Wendel)

50 W      Φανίας δέ φησιν οἰναρίζειν τὸ περιαιρεῖν τῶν οἰνάρων καὶ τρυγᾶν. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ οἰναρίζειν τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἐπειδὴν πεπαίνωσιν οἱ βότρυες.

1–2 *cf. Theophr. De causis plant. 3.5.5 et 3.7.7; Aristoph. Pax 1147 cum schol.; Hesych. Lex. s.v. οἰναρίζειν O 313.*



bitter vetch for plow-oxen, and tare for sheep and goats).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an early German translation, see Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, v.1, p.193. Most recently C. Neri, “Spigolature leguminose (Phaen. fr. 48 Wehrli),” *Eikasmos* 9 (1998) 121–134, esp.134, offered a new understanding of the Greek wording with an Italian translation: “Ogni sostanza leguminosa coltivata, infatti, ricca di semi, viene seminata in parte per la bollitura, come per esempio la fava, il pisello: poltiglioso, infatti, è il bollito che ne risulta; altre ancora, di nuovo, in quanto ingredienti del puré di legumi, come per l’appunto la cicerchia selvatica; in parte, per la zuppa di lenticchie, come l’afaca, la lenticchia; in parte, per il mangime dei quadrupedi, come la vecchia – da un lato – per i buoi aratori, l’afaca – dall’altro – per le greggi.”

- 54 Pliny, *Natural History* 22.35 (transl. Jones, v.6, *LCL*, pp. 317–319, modified)

Phanias the naturalist (*physicus*) has sung its (*scil.* the nettle’s) praises,<sup>1</sup> maintaining that either boiled or preserved it is a most useful food for the trachea, cough, bowel catarrh, the stomach, superficial abscesses, parotid swellings and chilblains, that with oil it is sudorific, boiled with shell-fish a laxative, that with barley-water it clears the chest and promotes menstruation, and that mixed with salt it arrests creeping sores.

<sup>1</sup> To modern readers some opinions of ancient scholars on the qualities of different plants as helpful medicines against certain diseases sound strange (in the present case those of Phaenias and Pliny on the nettle); see, however, J. Berendes, *Die Pharmacie bei den alten Culturvölkern*, 2 vols., Halle 1891 (repr. Hildesheim 1989), and on Pliny’s views in books 21–22 of his *Naturalis historia* the rich notes in R. König / G. Winkler, *C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä. Naturkunde. Lateinisch – Deutsch Bücher XXI/XXII, Medizin und Pharmakologie: Heilmittel aus dem Pflanzenreich*, München / Zürich 1985.

## On Plants?

- 55 Scholium on Theocritus’ *Thalysia* 133/134c

Phaenias<sup>1</sup> calls *oinarizein* the trimming away of the vine-leaves and the harvesting. For it is necessary to do this to the grape vines after the grapes have ripened.

<sup>1</sup> C. Wendel tentatively suggested emendation of Phaenias’ name to “Amerias”. On Amerias, a Hellenistic lexicographer and glossographer whose main work was entitled *Glossai*, see *RE* 1.2 (1894), 1827 C. Hülsen.

1 Φανίας *codices*, Wehrli : Ἀμερίας *Wendel dubitanter* 1 οἰναρέων *codices* : οἰναρεῶν *Wehrli* : οἰνάρων *Ahrens, Wendel*

## INCERTA

**56A** Plutarchus, *De defectu oraculorum* 22 422B–C (BT p.86.23–87.12 Sieveking / Gärtner)

12 W ἔλεγε δὲ (*scil.* ὁ ξένος) μήτ' ἀπείρους μήθ' ἓνα μήτε  
πέντε κόσμους, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν  
εἶναι συντεταγμένους κατὰ σχῆμα τριγωνοειδές, οὗ πλευ-  
ρὰν ἑκάστην ἐξήκοντα κόσμους ἔχειν· τριῶν δὲ τῶν λοι-  
πῶν ἑκαστον ἰδρῦσθαι κατὰ γωνίαν, ἄπτεσθαι δὲ τοὺς 5  
ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλων ἀτρέμα περιόντας ὥσπερ ἐν χορείᾳ· τὸ δ'  
ἐντὸς ἐπίπεδον τοῦ τριγώνου κοινὴν ἐστὶαν εἶναι πάντων,  
καλεῖσθαι δὲ πεδῖον ἀληθείας, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ  
εἶδη καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τῶν γενη-  
σομένων ἀκίνητα κεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ τοῦ αἰῶνος ὄντος 10  
C οἷον ἀπορροὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς κόσμους φέρεσθαι τὸν χρόνον.  
ὅσιν δὲ τούτων καὶ θέαν ψυχαῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ἅπαξ ἐν  
ἔτεσι μυρίοις ὑπάρχειν, ἂν γ' εὖ βιώσωσι· καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα  
τελετῶν τὰς ἀρίστας ἐκείνης ὄνειρον εἶναι τῆς ἐποπτείας  
καὶ τελετῆς· καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀναμνήσεως ἔνεκα τῶν ἐκεῖ 15  
φιλοσοφεῖσθαι καλῶν ἢ μάτην περαίνεσθαι.

1–9 *Procl. in Platonis Timaeum* 138b 8 *Plat. Phaedrus* 248b–c

15 ἀναμνήσεως *Wytttenbach* : ἀνέμνησας *J* : ἀνέμνησεν

**56B** Plutarchus, *De defectu oraculorum* 23 422D–E (BT p.87.24–88.3 Sieveking / Gärtner)

12 W ἐλέγχει δ' αὐτὸν (*scil.* τὸν ξένον) ὁ τῶν κόσμων ἀριθμὸς  
οὐκ ὢν Αἰγύπτιος οὐδ' Ἰνδὸς ἀλλὰ Δωριεὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας,  
E ἀνδρὸς Ἰμεραίου τοῦνομα Πέτρωνος. αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐκείνου  
βιβλίδιον οὐκ ἀνέγνων οὐδ' οἶδα διασωζόμενον, Ἴππυς δ'  
ὁ Ῥηγῖνος, οὗ μέμνηται Φανίας ὁ Ἑρέσιος, ἱστορεῖ δόξαν 5  
εἶναι ταύτην Πέτρωνος καὶ λόγον, ὥς ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοή-  
κοντα καὶ τρεῖς κόσμους ὄντας ἀπτομένους δ' ἀλλήλων  
κατὰ στοιχεῖον ὅ τι δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστί, τὸ κατὰ στοιχεῖον



## REFERENCES TO AN UNKNOWN WORK

- 56A** Plutarch, *On the Decline of Oracles* 22 422B–C (transl. Babbitt, *LCL*, v. 5, pp. 415–417)

He (*scil.* the stranger, a foreign wise man) said that the worlds are not infinite in number, nor one, nor five, but 183, arranged in the form of a triangle, each side of the triangle having sixty worlds; of the three left over each is placed at an angle, and those that are next to one other are in contact and revolve gently as in a dance. The inner area of the triangle is the common hearth of all, and is called the *Plain of Truth*, in which the accounts, the forms, and the patters of all things that have come to pass and of all that shall come to pass rest undisturbed.

- C And round about them lies *Eternity*, whence *Time*, like an ever-flowing stream, is conveyed to the worlds. Opportunity to see and to contemplate these things is vouchsafed to human souls once in 10,000 years if they have lived goodly lives; and the best of the initiatory rites here are but a dream of that highest rite and initiation; and the words of our philosophic inquiry are framed to recall these fair sights there – else is our labour vain.

- 56B** Plutarch, *On the Decline of Oracles* 23 422D–E (transl. Babbitt, *LCL* v. 5, pp. 417–419, modified)

- E The number of his worlds convicts him (*scil.* the stranger), since it is not Egyptian nor Indian, but Dorian and from Sicily, being the idea of a man of Himera named Petron. Petron's own treatise I have never read nor am I sure that a copy is now still extant; but Hippys<sup>1</sup> of Rhegium, whom Phanias<sup>2</sup> of Eresus mentions, records that this was the opinion and the account of it given by Petron<sup>3</sup>: that there are 183 worlds in contact with one another<sup>4</sup> according to element; but what this (*scil.* difficult phrase) means, “to be in contact according to element,”



82      Phaenias of Eresus

ἄπτεσθαι, μὴ προσδιασαφῶν μηδ' ἄλλην τινὰ πιθανότητα  
προσάπτων.

10

4 *Hippys FGrH 554 F 5 / BNJ 554 F 5 Smith*

5 αἰρέσιος Ω corr. Xylander

57      Eustathius, *Commentarii in Homeri Odysseam* 11.521 (t.1  
p.432.34–35 Stallbaum)

51 W      Ἐρέσιος δὲ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Πρωτεσιλάῳ δοθῆναι μνήμονα  
Δάρδανον Θετταλὸν, δοθέντος χρησμοῦ Φυλάκῳ τῷ πα-  
τρὶ, ἀναιρεθῆναι εἰ προπηδήσει, ὃ καὶ γέγονε.

1–2 *Phot. Bibl. 147a 29–30*    2–3 *Hom. Il. 2.698–702*

he does not explain further nor subjoin any plausible proof.

<sup>1</sup> Hippys of Rhegium, allegedly a 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. author of *Sikelika* and a *Ktisis Italias*, was regarded by F. Jacoby in his notes on *FGrH* 554 as a mystification of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (a ‘Schwindelautor’); if so, however, who invented Hippys, and where and why did Phaenias quote from him? See on the unresolved controversy whether Hippys was a real historian, D.G. Smith in *BNJ* 554 for a recent overview of the *status quaestionis* and Zhmud’s contribution in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Wehrli assigned this text as his fr. 12 to *On the Tyrants of Sicily* and regarded it as an excursus of this work, since Petron and Hippys came from Himera. L. Zhmud, however, suggests *On the Socratics* as a possible source of this text.

<sup>3</sup> Petron of Himera was perhaps an early Pythagorean, see Wehrli’s commentary on his fr. 12 and Diels / Kranz VS 16.

<sup>4</sup> In **56A** it is not completely clear from the “stranger’s” (*xenos*) description how exactly the 183 worlds are arranged. 183 worlds is the sum of 3 x 60 plus 3, numbers which bear deep philosophical meaning both to Pythagorean and Academic philosophers, arranged along the sides of a “perfect triangle;” see G. Huxley, “Petronian numbers,” *GRBS* 9 (1968) 55–57. For more scholarly literature, see D.G. Smith’s recent commentaries on Hippys of Rhegium *BNJ* 554 F 5, and still useful P. Vizzini, “Sulla figura di Petrone di Himera,” *Kokalos* 38 (1992) pp. 319–346, and the edition and commentary of Plutarch’s treatise by A. Rescigno, *Plutarco. L’eclissi degli oracoli*, Naples 1995.

## 57 Eustathius, *Commentaries on Homer*, Odyssey 11.521

The Eresian (*scil.* Phaenias ?) relates that Thettalus, a Dardanian, was given to Protesilaus as a minder who should take care of him. For Phylacus, Protesilaus’s father, had received an oracle that he (*scil.* Protesilaus) would die if he jumped as the first (*scil.* Greek soldier) onto land; and this happened later on.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When Eustathius in his commentary refers merely to “the Eresian,” he expects his readers to know clearly whom he means. However, it is equally possible to think of Phaenias or Theophrastus as “the Eresian.” For his brief note on Protesilaus, Photius names a source named Antipater, and not Phaenias.

TESTIMONIUM SCRIPTORUM  
LOGICORUM?

58     Alexander Aphrodisiensis, In Aristotelis Analytica priora 1.44  
p.50a39 (CAG t.2.1 p.390.2–3 Wallies)

Θεόφραστος δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις Ἀναλυτικοῖς μνη-  
μονεύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὐδημος καὶ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν ἐταίρων  
αὐτοῦ.

1 *Theophr.* 111E FHS&G    2 *Eudemus*, fr. 20 Wehrli



AN ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY OF PHAENIAS'  
LOGICAL WRITINGS?

- 58** Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics* 1.44 50a39 (transl. Theophr. 111E FHS&G)

But Theophrastus mentions them (*scil.* conclusions based on hypothetical syllogistic) in his own *Analytics*, and also Eudemus and some of his (*scil.* Aristotle's) other colleagues.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Barnes, "Theophrastus and Hypothetical Syllogistic," in W.W. Fortenbaugh, et al. (ed.), *Theophrastus of Eresus. On His Life and Work*, New Brunswick / London 1985, pp. 125–141, esp. 126, and other scholars surmise that Phaenias is among the τινες ἄλλοι in this text. This may be possible, but it remains far from certain.

## REJECTED TEXTS AND HOMONYMOUS ANCIENT AUTHORS

a) The first part of this section collects references to texts that have been ascribed by earlier scholars to Phaenias of Eresus, although he is not named in the sources, on the basis of elaborated philological arguments of *Quellenforschung* and hypotheses.

b) The second part is a list of other ancient persons and authors named Phantias or Phainias.

### a) Reiecta / Rejected Texts:

– Plutarch, *Life of Themistocles*

Many passages in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* have been assigned to a hypothetical biographical work on Themistocles written by Phaenias of Eresus. The scholars who make these proposals are inspired to do so by the undisputable fact that we know of several important historical and biographical texts on Themistocles that do come from a work (or several works?), with unknown titles, of Phaenias of Eresus (see **29–35**, above). However, their main arguments are based only on very uncertain and delicate theories of *Quellenforschung* and on the basic, but unproven hypothesis of the existence of a formal 'biography' of Themistocles by Phaenias, which would have covered his whole life from cradle to grave.

In spite of methodological reservations I include a list of the passages, which according to L. Bodin and R. Laqueur<sup>1</sup> could derive from a supposed *Life of Themistocles* by Phaenias. The following list is taken from Engels:<sup>2</sup>

Plut. *Them.* 2.8 – like 10.3 and 19.3–6 (some passages hostile to Themistocles and showing him to be a fierce demagogue)

Plut. *Them.* 3.1–5 (on his ambitious character)

Plut. *Them.* 5.3–5 and 7 (criticizing his unrestrained ambition)

Plut. *Them.* 10.1–3 (demagogical use of oracles and omens)

<sup>1</sup> L. Bodin, *Histoire et biographie – Phantias d'Érèse*, *REG* 28 (1915) 251–281 and *REG* 30 (1917) 117–157, and R. Laqueur, *Phainias aus Eresos*, *RE* 19.1 (1938), col. 1565–1591.

<sup>2</sup> J. Engels, commentary on Phainias *FGrH* 1012 F 18, p. 332 note 181.

- Plut. *Them.* 11.1 (on Aristides' banishment)  
 Plut. *Them.* 11.3–6 (famous sayings attributed to Themistocles)  
 Plut. *Them.* 12.6–8 (an alleged dialogue between Themistocles and Aristides before the battle of Salamis; perhaps the first strategem)  
 Plut. *Them.* 14.3–4 (a hostile reworking of earlier material taken from Herodotus and a *Persica*-source)  
 Plut. *Them.* 16.2–4 (a dialogue between Themistocles and Aristides, before the messenger was sent to persuade Xerxes to order a fast retreat)  
 Plut. *Them.* 17.19, and 21 (Phaenias as an intermediate source between Herodotus and Plutarch?)  
 Plut. *Them.* 23–25 (Themistocles' flight from Athens; Bodin and Laqueur assign all passages to Phaenias in which Plutarch agrees with the account of Thucydides 1.135–138)  
 Plut. *Them.* 28.1–4 (Phaenias is based on Thuc. 1.137.4)  
 Plut. *Them.* 28.6 (the chiliarch's prayer to Ahriman)  
 Plut. *Them.* 29.2 (a remark by the chiliarch)  
 Plut. *Them.* 29.3 (the salutation scene and the second *proskynesis*)  
 Plut. *Them.* 29.5 (Themistocles asks for one year in which to learn Persian; this story is based on Thuc. 1.137.4 and 1.138.1)  
 Plut. *Them.* 29.6–10 (cf. Thuc. 1.138.2)  
 Plut. *Them.* 31.1–2 (Themistocles' insolent behavior at Sardis; his flight to the satrap's harem where he even bribes the concubines)  
 Plut. *Them.* 31.4–7 (envy of Cimon's success as the dishonorable motive for Themistocles' suicide).

None of these many passages can be demonstrated with a reasonable degree of certainty to come from the same work as Phaenias **29–35**. Hence, they have all been rejected in this collection.

Wehli also excluded these texts.<sup>3</sup> J.–P. Schneider merely mentions discussion about these texts;<sup>4</sup> in my view he is not absolutely clear on this issue, but he does not plead in favor of including them.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Wehrli in SdA IX, then again F. Wehrli, *Der Peripatos bis zum Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in: H. Flashar (ed.), *Die Philosophie der Antike. 3. Ältere Akademie. Aristoteles – Peripatos*, = GGPh, Basel – Stuttgart 1983, pp. 461–473, and most recently Wehrli on Phainias in GGPh v.3, Basel – Stuttgart 2004, pp. 588–590.

<sup>4</sup> J.–P. Schneider, art. P 90 *Phainias d' Érèse*, *DPhA* 5.1–2, Paris 2011, pp. 266–273.



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– Suda s.v. *Archytas Tarantinos* A 4121 Adler (v.1, p.377.32)

C. Müller included this text with some serious doubts (“caret veri similitudine”) as his Phaenias Fr. 23.<sup>5</sup> He obviously followed here a conjecture made by Bernhardt (in his Suda edition of 1834), which Adler did not accept in her text or even mention in the *apparatus criticus*. Bernhardt suspected that behind the preserved text of our *codices* the name of Phaenias was hidden, and instead of τοῦτον (*scil. Archytas*) φανερώς γενέσθαι διδάσκαλον Ἐμπεδοκλέους proposed to read τοῦτον (*scil. Archytas*) φησὶ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος γενέσθαι διδάσκαλον Ἐμπεδοκλέους *etc.* This editor is not at all convinced by this proposal.

– Pseudo-Aristotle, *Mirabilia* 53–7 M

K. Müllenhoff suggested including this text in a new collection of Phaenias’ texts.<sup>6</sup> Two of these texts were also counted at least as *fragmenta incerta* by H. Flashar.<sup>7</sup> See on these texts S. White’s paper on Phaenias in the *Mirabilia* tradition in this volume.

### b) Other ancient persons named Phantias or Phainias

*RE* lists in vol. 19.2 eight entries under Phantias and only one, Phaenias of Eresus, under Phainias. The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* includes in vol. 1 17 references to Phantias, p.453–454, and six to Phainias p.452 (No. 1 concerns the Peripatetic Phaenias of Eresus); in vol. 2 p.440–441 one finds 52 references to people named Phantias, in vol. 3A p.42 two to Phainias and p.443 5 to Phantias, in vol. 3B p.415 one to Phainias and p.416 seven to Phantias, in vol. 4 p. 339–340 two to Phantias, and in vol. 5 p.442 four to Phainias and p.43 13 to Phantias.<sup>8</sup> There is no need to discuss each reference to all these people in this edition. I merely mention five ancient people named Phantias or Phainias.

<sup>5</sup> C. Müller, *Phantias Eresius*, *FHG* vol. 2, pp. 293–301.

<sup>6</sup> K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, v.1, Berlin 1870, p. 427.

<sup>7</sup> H. Flashar, *Aristoteles, Mirabilia. Werke in deutscher Übersetzung* v.18.2, Berlin 1992, pp. 92–93.

<sup>8</sup> See also the useful online version of this resource.

a) Phantias, Athenian *nauarchos* or *strategos* of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., see Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.26 (cf. Harpocration s.v. *Phantias* Ph 3 Keaney, Lysias or. *In Defense of Phanius* (?) *on the charge of proposing an illegal measure (paranomon)*, Ath. *Deipnos.* 12.76 551D–E = *LGNP* vol. 2, Phantias No. 1, p.440). On several other Athenians named Phantias, see *LGNP* vol. 2, p. 440–441.

b) Phantias, a Stoic philosopher and pupil of Posidonius (Diog. Laert. *Vitae* 7.41 = Posidonius T 43 Edelstein–Kidd, 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.), perhaps to be identified with another man with this name, an official of king Antiochus who took part in expelling philosophers from the Seleucid kingdom, Ath. *Deipnos.* 12.68 547A.

c) Phantias, a freedman and messenger of P. Appius Pulcher, who is mentioned in Cic. *Ep. ad fam.* 2.13 and 3.1.

d) Phantias, a minor poet of epigrams, see *Anth. Pal.* 6.294–95, 297, 299, 304, 307; 7.537 and 12.31, who certainly lived later than Phaenias the Peripatetic (perhaps in the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.?).

e) a Platonist who dedicated a herm of Plato in the sanctuary at Didyma (*I v. Didyma* 2.150; ed. A. Rehm, *Didyma 2. Die Inschriften*, Berlin 1958). Perhaps to be identified with a *prophetes* known from *I v. Didyma* 2.127, and certainly living in the imperial period (see also 2.100, 182, 243 and 244).

CONCORDANCES

Testimonies and Fragments of Phaenias of Eresus

by “with title” texts are marked which surely come from certain known works, all other texts have been assigned to the following works on the basis of their content and relation to other sure texts.

Engels ( <i>RUSCH</i> )	Wehrli <i>SdA</i> fr.	Engels <i>FGrH</i> IV A 1 1012
Life and Work		
1	1	T 1
2	2	T 2
3	3	T 3
4	4	T 4
5	5	T 5
6	6	T 6
7	7	T 7
8	—	—
9	—	—
10	—	—
Logical Writings		
11 with titles	8	—
12 perhaps with title	—	—
13	—	—
<i>Against Diodoros</i>		
14 with title	9	—
<i>Against the Sophists</i>		
15A with title	10	—
15B	—	—
<i>On the Tyrants of Sicily</i>		
16 with title	11	F 1
17	13	F 2



Engels ( <i>RUSCH</i> )	Wehrli <i>SdA</i> fr.	Engels <i>FGrH</i> IV A 1 1012
<i>Tyrants Killed in Revenge</i>		
<b>18</b> with title	14	F 3
<b>19</b> with title	15	F 4
<b>20</b>	16	F 5
<b>21</b>	—	F 6
<i>The Prytaneis of Eresus</i>		
<b>22A</b> with title	17a	F 7
<b>22B</b>	17b	—
<b>23</b>	18	F 8
<b>24</b>	19	F 9
<b>25</b>	33	F 10
Taken from Historical and Biographical Works, esp. on Solon and Themistocles		
<b>26</b> on Solon	20	F 14
<b>27</b> on Solon	21	F 15
<b>28A</b>	22a	F 16a
<b>28B</b>	22b	F 16b
<b>29</b> on Themistocles	23	F 17
<b>30</b> on Themistocles	24	F 18
<b>31</b> on Themistocles	25	F 19
<b>32</b> on Themistocles	26	F 20
<b>33</b>	27	F 21
<b>34</b> on Themistocles	28	F 22
<b>35</b>	29	F 23
<i>On the Socratics</i>		
<b>36</b> with title	30	F 11
<b>37</b>	31	F 12
<i>On Poets</i>		
<b>38</b> with title	32	F 13
<i>Mirabilia?</i> or from other works		
<b>39A</b>	34	—

Engels ( <i>RUSCH</i> )	Wehrli <i>SdA</i> fr.	Engels <i>FGrH</i> IV A 1 1012
39B	34	—
40	35	—
<i>On Plants</i>		
41	36	—
42 with title	37	—
43 with title	38	—
44 with title	39	—
45	40	—
46	41	—
47	42	—
48 with title	43	—
49 with title	44	—
50	45	—
51	46	—
52A	47a	—
52B	47b	—
53 with title	48	—
54	49	—
55	50	—
<i>Fragments of Unknown Works</i>		
56A	12	—
56B	12	—
<i>Uncertain Fragments</i>		
57	51	—
58	—	—

Wehrli <i>SdA</i> fr.	Engels ( <i>RUSCH</i> )	Wehrli <i>SdA</i> fr.	Engels ( <i>RUSCH</i> )
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## 2

# Two Eresians: Phainias and Theophrastus

*William W. Fortenbaugh*

For many Classicists and most philosophers, Phainias is little more than a name.<sup>1</sup> We know that he was a contemporary of Theophrastus: both were born at Eresus on the island Lesbos, and both were Peripatetic philosophers. We may believe that they were boyhood buddies and that they reunited at Mitylene when Aristotle moved from Assos to Lesbos in 345/4 BC. But were they really boyhood buddies? Were they close associates as members of the Peripatos? And did they share a common interest in the well being of their native city Eresus? I.e., what role, if any, did they play in driving out tyrants? With these questions in mind, I want to look at a series of texts that either explicitly associate Phainias with Theophrastus or through content and context suggest a common bond. In Engels' edition, the texts are:

**1** and **2** on Eresus and Phainias' dates.

**7** and **6** on the roles of Phainias and Theophrastus in freeing Eresus from tyranny.

<sup>1</sup> In agreement with recent scholarship, I refer to the Peripatetic philosopher as Phainias and not as Phantias. The former is attested by inscription for the island of Lesbos, on which Phainias was born. See, e.g., Laqueur (1938) 1565, Wehrli (1957) 27 and Engels (1998) 290.

**3, 4, 5, 11** and **13** on letters written by Theophrastus to Phainias and on lectures by Phainias and Theophrastus on logic.

**41–55** on an interest in botany that Phainias shared with Theophrastus.

**20** on a common interest in love stories.

**38** on the wit of Stratoniceus, which was discussed by both Phainias and Theophrastus

**22A–B** Phainias and Theophrastus on raining small creatures.

In some respects, the results will be positive. Rather than think of Phainias as someone who was only a marginal Peripatetic, i.e., someone who largely stayed away from the school in Athens, we can think of Phainias as someone who did interact with Theophrastus and taught at the school in Athens, at least from time to time and perhaps more often than not. But given the paucity of the evidence, filling in details is risky, and a consideration of our sources including context material raises issues of reliability.

## 1 and 2

Text **1** is from the *Suda*, s.v. Φανίας ἢ Φαινίας, and text **2** is from Strabo, *Geography* 13.2.4. They tell us that both Phainias and Theophrastus were Eresians and that both were Peripatetic philosophers, who studied under Aristotle.<sup>2</sup> Since the two were students of Aristotle, we can say that they were contemporaries, but we still want to know when they were born and died. In regard to Theophrastus, Diogenes Laertius is helpful. He reports that Theophrastus lived for 85 years (5.40), and when that report is combined with reports concerning Theophrastus' successor Strato (5.58, 68), then we can say that Theophrastus was born in either the first or second year of the 102nd Olympiad, 372/1 or 370/1 BC, and died in the first or second year of the 123 Olympiad, 288/7 or 287/6.<sup>3</sup> Phainias' birth and death dates are more elusive. In the *Suda*, we read that he was alive<sup>4</sup> in the 111th

<sup>2</sup> In text **2** Theophrastus and Phainias are said to be γνώριμοι of Aristotle. As a substantive, γνώριμος refers primarily to an acquaintance, but it can be used narrowly as here to refer to a pupil or student. See LSJ s.v. I.3.b.

<sup>3</sup> See Jacoby (1902) 352–3, Regenbogen (1940) 1356–7 and Sollenberger (1984) 206–208, 454 n. 42.

<sup>4</sup> “Was alive” or “lived” translates the Greek ἦν.



Olympiad and later during the time of Alexander the Great. That is of little help, for the 111th Olympiad is 336–332 BC, which is the beginning of Alexander's reign, which ran from 336 to 323. That is some nine years beyond the 111th Olympiad, but it hardly takes us to the death of Phainias.<sup>5</sup>

To establish a date of birth, we might interpret the 111th Olympiad as Phainias' acme, understand a man's acme to be 40 years of age, and conclude that Phainias was born between 376 and 373. That seems to be the reasoning of Wehrli (1957) 27,<sup>6</sup> but it is to be resisted. The text of the *Suda* does not refer explicitly to Phainias' acme, and even if we accept that Phainias' acme is being reported, there is no guarantee that in the *Suda* a person's acme can always be understood as 40 years of age. For the *Suda* contains material drawn from various sources, and that opens the door to a variety of views concerning a man's acme. To make the point I cite Plato and Aristotle. In Book 5 of the *Republic*, Plato has Socrates discuss eugenics, arguing that off-spring should come from men and women in their prime, ἐκ ἀκμαζόντων. For men that is a period of thirty years ending at fifty-five. It is the prime or acme of both body and mind (460D–461A). What Aristotle offers is different. In the *Rhetoric*, he distinguishes between the acme of the body and that of the mind. For the body he posits age 30 to 35, and for the mind he chooses age 49 (2.14 1390a9–11). Here Plato's thirty years have been reduced to five in the case of the body and a single year in regard to mind. In neither case, does Aristotle speak of 40 years of age, which is the number needed if Wehrli's reasoning is to be accepted.

More plausible is Engels (1998) 290, who thinks of Phainias as one of the earliest pupils of Aristotle at Mytilene in 345/4 BC and suggests that Phainias "may have been born about 365 or a few years earlier." Gottschalk (2007) 901 tells us that Phainias' birth is generally placed around 375 and then adds a word of caution: the "tradition indicates only that he (Phainias) was alive during the 111th Olympiad." I prefer

<sup>5</sup> Gottschalk (2007) 902 tells us that Phainias is generally believed to have died c. 300 BC. Engels (1998) 290 says that Phainias probably died between 317 and 307. Either could be correct, but *if* we think that the letter of Theophrastus to Phainias recorded by Diogenes Laertius 5.37 is genuine and that it was written by an aged Theophrastus, then a later date seems more likely. See below on text 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Wehrli (1983) 352.

to leave the matter undecided, for in commenting on the available sources, the issue is largely unimportant (e.g., we can say that whatever the date of Phainias' birth might be, he was certainly an adult when tyrants were expelled from Eresus). I suggest, however, that we resist developing a picture of Phainias and Theophrastus as young children who were together in school and at play on a regular basis.<sup>7</sup> I am not suggesting that they never interacted, but older children tend to ignore younger children. One or the other may have been older, so that a close relationship between the two may have begun only later at Assos in 348–345 or more likely at Mytilene in 345–342.<sup>8</sup>

## 7 and 6

Text **7** is taken from Plutarch's dialogue *Living in Accordance with Epicurus Cannot Be Pleasant*. The speaker is Theon,<sup>9</sup> who opposes the meager pleasures felt by Epicureans, who live an apolitical life within the confines of their garden, to the greater pleasures felt by men of action, who engage in significant acts of benefaction. Theon first ridicules Epicurus for showering praise on Metrodorus, who is said to have traveled from the city to the sea (i.e., the short distance from Athens to the Piraeus) and accomplished nothing. After that Theon cites with approval the pleasure felt by Plato when Sicily was

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Wehrli (1957) 27: "Eresos ist Heimat wie des Ph. so des Theophrast (fr. 2); die Beziehung zwischen beiden wird also in frühe Jugend zurückgehen, zumal da sie ungefähr gleich alt waren."

<sup>8</sup> I have expressed myself cautiously, for (pace Engels [1998] 290) it is nowhere "recorded" that Phainias was with Aristotle and Theophrastus at Mytilene. To be sure, we know that Aristotle spent c. 3 years at Mytilene from 345/4 to 342/1 BC and that a number of the early Peripatetics hailed from Lesbos. Wehrli (1957) 27 cites Bignone (1936) vol. 2 p. 44 n. 1, who names Echebrates of Methymna, who was a pupil of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Phainias and Praxiphanes of Mitylene, who was a pupil of Theophrastus. But it is nowhere reported that Echebrates was with Aristotle at Mitylene (we know of him only through what we read in Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* s.v. Μήθυμνα), and Praxiphanes would be too young or not even born. For Praxiphanes' birth date, c. 340 or even 330, see Brink (1946) 23 and Aly (1954) 1772. In regard to Phainias, all we can say is that he may well have joined Aristotle and Theophrastus at Mitylene; it is a reasonable assumption.

<sup>9</sup> According to Einarson and DeLacy (1967) 16 n. b, Theon is likely to have been Plutarch's assistant within the latter's school.



set free from the tyranny of Dionysius,<sup>10</sup> the pleasure felt by Aristotle when he restored his native city Stagira, and the pleasure felt by Theophrastus and Phainias when they drove out tyrants from their fatherland (15 1097B). In regard to Plato, Theon is made to say that he felt pleasure, “when Dion, setting out from him (ὁρμήσας ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ), overthrew Dionysius.” In other words, Plato did not accompany Dion to Sicily; his pleasure did not require hands-on participation. Indeed, Plato’s personal efforts to effect a change in Sicily were failures. In one respect, the case of Aristotle is similar. When we read that he was pleased to have raised up his native city, which was lying on the ground, and to have brought back the citizens, we are not to think of Aristotle laboring on site, rather, we are to think of him persuading Philip of Macedon or possibly Alexander to restore the city.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the case of Theophrastus and Phainias was similar. We should not think of them as having personally delivered the blows that drove out the tyrants, τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος ἐκκοψάντων τυράννους. Rather, they were off site, motivating and organizing the citizens of Eresus to remove the tyrants.

There are, however, problems here that should be noticed, for taken together they serve as a warning concerning an incautious acceptance of secondhand reports. I mention three.

1) The statement concerning Plato is brief as are the statement concerning Aristotle and that concerning Theophrastus and Phainias. Each contributes to the contrast between politically involved philosophers and the apolitical Epicureans. The problem here is that brevity involves omission, and in the case of Plato brevity involves passing over inconvenient facts. In particular, Plato will not have been pleased with his own failed efforts to effect a change for the better in the character and rule of Dionysius.<sup>12</sup> In addition, he was not enthusiastic about moving to depose Dionysius by force (he refused active participation<sup>13</sup>). And the move to depose Dionysius had unwanted consequences:

<sup>10</sup> I.e., Dionysius II. The date is 357 BC.

<sup>11</sup> According to Plutarch’s *Life of Alexander* 7.2, Philip destroyed the city and later restored it. Nevertheless, the *Vita Marciana* says that Aristotle persuaded Alexander to restore the city. Cf. Aelian, *Miscellaneous History* 12.54 and Diogenes Laertius, *Alexander* 5.4. See below, this section *ad fin.*

<sup>12</sup> 367 and 361–360 BC.

<sup>13</sup> Plato, *Letters* 7 350B–E.



in particular, the death of Dion. In some contexts ignoring negatives may be acceptable and even invite praise, but when we are assessing the reliability of sources with a view to getting at the facts taking note of convenient omissions can be important.

2) In addition to *Living in accordance with Epicurus* 1097B, two other Plutarchan passages, *Reply to Colotes in Defense of the Other Philosophers* 33 1126F and *Life of Alexander* 7.2, support the idea that Stagira was destroyed. Both attribute the destruction to Philip. Add to these reports those of Aelian, *Miscellaneous History* 12.54<sup>14</sup> and Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.4, and we might think that the destruction of Stagira by Philip is indubitable. But the reports have been challenged in the scholarly literature,<sup>15</sup> and so too has Aristotle's role in rebuilding the city. Düring thinks it probable that Hermippus started the story.<sup>16</sup> He could be correct; certainly, the challenge to Plutarch's several reports cannot be dismissed as patently foolish. To make the point, I cite Diodorus of Sicily, *Historical Library* 16.52.9. We are first told that Philip marched against the cities of the Chalcidice, laid siege to Zereia (the name is a plausible emendation<sup>17</sup>) and razed the city. In addition, Philip intimidated several other towns and compelled them to submit. It is easy to imagine a Hellenistic historian, biographer or epistolographer confusing Stagira with Zereia and connecting reports of Aristotle writing laws for Stagira (Plutarch, *Reply to Colotes* 32 1126D, Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 5.4)

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 3.17, where Aelian speaks of Aristotle raising up Stagira which had not, as the saying goes, fallen to its knees but rather on its face, οὐ τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο εἰς γόνυ πεσοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ στόμα. The description is in line with what we read in 12.54, where the city is said to have been razed, κατεσκαμμένην (literally, dug down), but it also introduces human characteristics, which are especially vivid and serve to underline the idea of being leveled to the ground. Aelian (or his source) is not to be faulted for writing attractive/entertaining prose, but we should keep in mind that such a prose style may introduce inaccuracies (exaggerations) that pass unnoticed.

<sup>15</sup> See Mulvany (1926) 163, followed by Düring (1957) 59 and Sollenberger (1992) 3818.

<sup>16</sup> Hermippus of Smyrna, end of 3rd cent. BC, wrote a work entitled *Lives of Persons Distinguished in Education*.

<sup>17</sup> The manuscripts exhibit Γείραν and Ζείρα with variation in accent. On Zereia see Flensted-Jensen (2004) 848. Düring (1957) 290, 293 prints <Στά>γειραν, but in his comment writes, "The passage in Diodorus is corrupt and does not seem to have dealt with Stagira."

with influencing the rebuilding of the city. Moreover, Aristotle's presence in Macedonia as the teacher of Alexander and his acknowledged expertise in persuasive speech could easily give rise to the idea that Aristotle used his influence to have Stagira rebuilt. Perhaps we should focus on the second part of Diodorus' report and say that Stagira belongs among the cities that were intimidated and submitted. In other words, Philip never destroyed the city, but he may have expelled the citizens.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently Aristotle persuaded Philip to allow the citizens to return and took the occasion to write new laws for Stagira. Cleverer minds will be able to imagine other scenarios. I leave the matter undecided, though I am inclined to believe that Stagira was at least seriously damaged by Philip and that Aristotle used his persuasive skills to influence rebuilding.<sup>19</sup>

3) What Plutarch has Theon say concerning Theophrastus and Phainias is even more problematic. We can understand the report as another example of working an effect without hands-on involvement: the two Peripatetics accomplished the removal of tyranny from Eresus through the agency of others. But it is also possible that Theophrastus was in Athens doing philosophy,<sup>20</sup> while Phainias was on the scene taking part in driving out the tyrants?<sup>21</sup> Or should we reject the involvement of Theophrastus and Phainias as unhistorical? Eresus had been troubled by tyrants, who were overthrown. What better way to enhance the reputations of Theophrastus and Phainias than to have

<sup>18</sup> Citing Plutarch, *Alexander* 7.2 and Dio Chrysostom, *Orations* 47.9, Flensted-Jensen (2004) 844 says, "It is not clear whether the town was in fact destroyed: what is clear is that the population was expelled and later allowed to move back." Later on the same page, Flensted-Jensen speaks of "a zig-zag stretch of wall built in the late Classical period, presumably after Philip II destroyed the town." Archaeology, in which I have no training, may be more important than our literary sources for deciding whether or to what extent Stagira was destroyed.

<sup>19</sup> Jaeger (1948) 120 has argued that Aristotle's move to the court of Macedon was in part at least a diplomatic move that depended upon developing ties between Philip of Macedon and Hermias of Atarneus, the latter being closely tied to Aristotle through philosophy, friendship and marriage (Strabo 13.1.17; Diogenes Laertius 5.3). If that is correct, then Aristotle's persuasive skills may have been less important than the relationship between Philip and Hermias,

<sup>20</sup> Mejer (1998) 12 n. 32 points out that we have no evidence that Theophrastus ever returned to Eresus once he had left it for Athens.

<sup>21</sup> Wehrli (1957) 28.



them join forces in order to eject tyrants from their native city? Indeed, we can imagine a copycat, who knew the story (true or fanciful) of Aristotle restoring his native city and fabricated a similar story involving Theophrastus and Phainias.

The matter is complicated by what we read in *Reply to Colotes in Defense of the Other Philosophers*.<sup>22</sup> The work is closely related to *Living in Accordance with Epicurus* in that both are highly critical of the Epicureans. It is also the earlier of the two, for it is referred to from *Living in Accordance with Epicurus* (15 1097A).<sup>23</sup> This time the speaker is Plutarch himself, who criticizes Colotes for abusing philosophers who were actively involved in civic life or contributed to it through legislation or the lessons imparted to their pupils. A string of philosophers are cited, among whom are Plato and Aristotle. The former is said to have liberated Sicily through Dion (διὰ Δίωνος 32 1126C) and the latter to have composed laws for the people of Stagira (1126D). In what follows, Plutarch ridicules Epicurus for glorifying Metrodorus who is said to have traveled a mere forty stades to help a Syrian officer who had been arrested. Truly impressive and deserving of praise are Aristotle who restored his native city, which had been destroyed by Philip, and Theophrastus who twice delivered his homeland from tyrants (33 1126F). The mention of Aristotle restoring his homeland is in line with what we read in *Living in Accordance with Epicurus*. In contrast, the mention of Theophrastus is notable, for this time he is not conjoined with Phainias. He alone is credited with freeing Eresus of tyrants and not once but twice. Earlier I was tempted to connect the absence of any mention of Phainias with a textual difficulty in *Living in Accordance with Epicurus*. At 1097B the reading “and Phainias” is an emendation. The manuscripts offer καὶ φειδίου and καὶ φεινίου, not καὶ Φανίου. Perhaps the corruption is more serious than it appears, and Phainias is not mentioned in either work. But on reflection that is not convincing. The reading φεινίου is close to

<sup>22</sup> The text is not printed by Wehrli (1957), but it is mentioned in the commentary on page 28.

<sup>23</sup> At 1097A Theon is made to say, μικρῷ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἠκούομεν, “For a little before we heard.” The reference is to *Reply to Colotes* 33 1126E–F. In context the words “a little before” refer to dramatic time, but they also indicate that *Living in Accordance with Epicurus* was written (shortly) after *Reply to Colotes*. What Theon and others heard was a description of Epicurus’ exaggerated praise of Metrodorus.



Φανίου and the occurrence of καὶ suggests that a second person was named. It is quite unlikely that someone other than Phainias was named. In saying that, I am not suggesting that a reference to Phainias has fallen out of *Reply to Colotes*. At 1126F a reference to Aristotle followed by one to Theophrastus (without Phainias) is sufficient to make Plutarch's point: philosophers who are not of Epicurean persuasion engage in significant public service. In contrast, Epicureans either eschew such service or engage in laughable acts such as that of Metrodorus.

While *Reply to Colotes* 1126F omits a reference to Phainias, it does offer two details that are not found in *Living in Accordance with Epicurus*. First, there is explicit reference to Philip as the person who leveled the city of Stagira. If the leveling is historical fact, then we have here a clear statement that the person responsible for the destruction was Philip. But the if-clause remains important. Second, we are told that Theophrastus twice, δίδυς, freed his native city from tyrants. In *Living in Accordance with Epicurus*, "twice" does not occur; instead two persons are mentioned: not only Theophrastus but also Phainias. At one time, I was tempted to interpret "twice" by reference to what is said in *Living in Accordance with Epicurus* 1097B. Eresus was indeed twice freed, but once by Theophrastus and once by Phainias. That now seems to me bad philology. The text of *In Reply to Colotes* exhibits no sign of disturbance, and what we know of tyranny at Eresus suggests that Theophrastus could easily have been involved on two occasions.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, it is not impossible that the addition of Phainias after Theophrastus, καὶ Φανίου, in *Living in Accordance with Epicurus*, may be a simple case of adding a reference to a closely related person, where the reference is unnecessary and even wrong. The phenomena has been called to my attention by David Runia, who cites Cicero, *Orator* 228, where Cicero alludes directly to Aristotle's

<sup>24</sup> Theophrastus could have been involved in some way or other (at a distance?) in removing the collective tyranny of the brothers Apollodorus, Hermon and Heraeus and again in the removal of Agonippus and Eurysilaus. Details concerning these removals are disputed. On one view, Theophrastus could have played a role in 343 BC, when Philip removed Apollodorus, Hermon and Heraeus, and again a decade latter, when Agonippus and Eurysilaus were twice removed, i.e., in 334 and 332. See Pistorius (1913) 60–76, 120–3, Berve (1967) 337–8, Engels (1998) 296–7, Sonnabend (2004) 22 and Hansen, Spencer and Williams (2004) 1023, Ellis-Evans (2012) 183–20.

*Rhetoric* 3.8 1408b26, after which he writes *quod ait Aristoteles et Theophrastus*, “what Aristotle says and Theophrastus as well.”<sup>25</sup> Perhaps then Plutarch had it right the first time, and later in *Living in Accordance with Epicurus* he simply adds Phainias as part of a well-known duo. I find the idea attractive but also too clever and in fact unnecessary. It is entirely possible that Phainias, like Theophrastus, played a role in the removal of tyrants (1097B) and that Theophrastus was twice involved (1126F). Whether Theophrastus’ involvement required him to return to Eresus is not said and in the absence of new evidence must remain an open question.<sup>26</sup> The same holds regarding the number of times that Phainias was involved in the removal of tyrants from Eresus.<sup>27</sup> I return to subject of tyranny below in discussing text **20**.

Some mention should be made of text **6**, which is taken from the *Vita Maricana Aristotelis*.<sup>28</sup> Theophrastus and Phainias are mentioned in connection with Eresus, but this time the focus is on Aristotle, who is said to have used his influence with Philip to benefit whole cities: in particular, Stagira and Eresus, the second of which is said to be the native city of Aristotle’s pupils Theophrastus and Phainias (17). We are told that Stagira was destroyed by Philip and that Aristotle persuaded Alexander not only to reestablish the city but also to add to its territories (17). The idea that Alexander (as against Philip) reestablished Stagira is found also in Aelian, *Miscellaneous History* 12.54 and Diogenes Laertius 5.4.<sup>29</sup> The idea may be little more than a guess

<sup>25</sup> Runia (1989) 34.

<sup>26</sup> Above note 20, I referred to Mejer (1998) 12 n. 32, who points out correctly that no text tells us that Theophrastus ever returned to Eresus. Nevertheless, silence does not rule out his returning to Eresus and it certainly does not rule out influencing events in Eresus from without. In any case, I am less skeptical than Mejer, who finds it unlikely that the Plutarchan passages are historically correct. In my judgment, at least some of what we read is likely to have a basis in fact.

<sup>27</sup> Engels (1998) 297 writes, “Phainias had not accompanied Theophrastus to Athens in 335 when he went there to study in the recently founded Peripatos. Hence we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that he actually took part in expelling one of the Lesbian tyrants in 334 or 333/2.” I agree with Engels’ caution and would add that no text states explicitly what Phainias did in 335. We are left guessing.

<sup>28</sup> The *Vita* is found in a single manuscript, Marcianus Graecus 257. The edition and commentary of Düring (1957) are found on pages 94–119.

<sup>29</sup> See also Pliny, *Natural History* 7.29.109.



based both on Aristotle's position as the teacher of Alexander and on the assumption that whoever destroys a city does not rebuild it. However, it is also possible and even likely that Alexander did play a significant role in restoring Stagira. He was already fifteen when Aristotle moved from Lesbos to Macedon in 342/341 BC (Diogenes Laertius 5.10) and will have been 20 or 21 when Philip was assassinated in 336. During this period, Philip will have begun not only to assign tasks of increasing importance to Alexander but also to permit Alexander to act on his own. Be that as it may, what follows in the *Vita* lacks credibility. Instead of being told what Theophrastus and Phainias did to benefit Eresus, we are told that Philip was going to besiege Eresus, when Aristotle persuaded him to release the city. In his apparatus to the text, Düring writes *haec nulla fide digna*, and in his commentary he writes, "It is extremely unlikely that Philip had any interest in capturing Eresus."<sup>30</sup> Düring's judgment is sound. I conclude that the *Vita Marciana* contributes nothing to our investigation of the relationship between Phainias and Theophrastus.

### 3, 4, 5, 11 and 13

Text **3** refers to a collection of letters written by Theophrastus to Astycreon, Phainias and Nicanor. It is an entry in Diogenes Laertius' catalogue of Theophrastean writings. More precisely, it is the seventh entry in the fourth list of the catalogue (5.50 = 1.276 FHS&G). A collection of letters in three volumes or rolls, without the names of the addressees, occurs as the sixteenth entry in the second list of Diogenes' catalogue.<sup>31</sup> How the two collections relate is problematic. Usener wanted to identify the collections,<sup>32</sup> which is not impossible:

<sup>30</sup> Düring (1957) 100, 110.

<sup>31</sup> Both lists are arranged alphabetically. Until recently, scholars, myself included, were apt to attribute Diogenes' catalogue of Theophrastean writings to Hermippus of Smyrna. That view has now been criticized forcefully by Bollansée (1999) 163–77, 233–43, whose criticism I find persuasive. See Fortenbaugh (2013) the introduction to Chapter 3 on Titles.

<sup>32</sup> Usener (1858) 16.



duplicate entries are found elsewhere in the catalogue.<sup>33</sup> Alternatively, **3** may refer to a collection that formed part of the collection in three volumes, or it may refer to a quite separate collection. The second and third possibilities are more likely.

No other text mentions letters written by Theophrastus to Astycreon<sup>34</sup> and Nicanor.<sup>35</sup> That is not true of Phainias. In two texts, a letter to Phainias is cited and in one of these texts some words of Theophrastus are quoted. That text is no. **4**, which is found early in Diogenes Life of Theophrastus prior to the catalogue of writings. After mentioning Theophrastus' popularity among the Athenian people and the large number of students who attended his school (5.37 = 1.14–16 FHS&G), Diogenes cites a letter to Phainias, in which Theophrastus is said to have discussed various things including where one lectures or teaches (1.16–17). Several lines are quoted: “For not only is it not easy to get a public assembly, but not even a small company of listeners such as one would like. Readings (of one's work) lead to corrections. The present generation no longer tolerates the deferring of everything and lack of care.” To this quotation Diogenes adds, “In this letter he (Theophrastus) used the term ‘scholastic’” (5.37 = 1.16–21).<sup>36</sup>

The fact that the quotation begins with “for” (γάρ) tells us that preceding material has been omitted. Perhaps Theophrastus is replying to

<sup>33</sup> An example is *On Slander*. The title occurs immediately before the entry concerning letters to Astycreon, Phainias and Nicanor and is found in two other places in the catalogue (5.46 = 1.189 FHS&G and 5.49 = 1.252).

<sup>34</sup> Who this Astycreon might be is uncertain. The fact that he is named alongside Nicanor and Phainias suggests that he was closely related to the Periatetic School. A further consideration is provided by Athenaeus, *The Sophists at Dinner* 7 289A–C. There we read of an Asycreon, who was a patient of the mad doctor Menecrates. The idea is developed by Squilace (2012), but caution is needed. See Fortenbaugh (2013) Chapter 3 on Title 16a.

<sup>35</sup> Nicanor was the son of Aristotle's sister Arimneste and hence Aristotle's nephew. In Aristotle's will, provision was made for Nicanor to marry Aristotle's daughter (Pythias). And should something happen to Nicanor, Theophrastus can decide whether he wishes to live with the daughter (Diogenes Laertius 5.12–13; see Düring [1957] 264). It follows that Theophrastus' correspondence with Nicanor may have been very different from that with Phainias. It may have been more about personal matters than about shared academic interests.

<sup>36</sup> Scholars have disagreed about the Greek text and how it should be translated. For details concerning the scholarly debate, I refer to Sollenberger (1994) 167–71.

a letter of Phainias, in which the latter urged him to devote less energy to lecturing and generally to teaching.<sup>37</sup> Or perhaps Theophrastus is responding to an issue that he himself raised. We can imagine him being already in his late seventies or early eighties, c. 290 BC, and unhappy with the way in which the younger generation is responding to his lectures. That would be too late a date for scholars who place the death of Phainias at c. 300 BC or even earlier between 317 and 307.<sup>38</sup> But perhaps we should admit that we do not know when Phainias died, and that what prompted Theophrastus' words cannot be determined with any certainty.

At one time I was tempted to question the authenticity of the letter quoted by Diogenes. On my reading, there is a querulous quality to Theophrastus' words, which may recall the complaint attributed by Cicero to the dying Theophrastus: "Nature has given to crows and stags a long life to whom it is of no interest, but to men to whom it is of great interest, she has given such a short life" (*Tusculan Disputations* 3.69 = 34A FHS&G). The words are interesting—they exhibit a measure of self-pity—but the words were never uttered by Theophrastus. They are the creation of a later author, and the same may be true of the quotation that concerns us. Later generations did write letters that were falsely attributed to famous persons; a letter of Theophrastus to Phainias would fit the category perfectly. Nevertheless, that too is speculation and perhaps better left aside.

The second text referring to a letter written by Theophrastus to Phainias, no. 5, is a scholion on the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (1.972 p. 85 Wendel = 374 FHS&G). There we read, "Theophrastus in the letter to Phainias says that it (the woodlouse) is also called ὄβοϋς, as in Sophocles' play the *Dumb Satyrs*: 'rolled up as a bean-like ὄβοϋς.'" <sup>39</sup> There is no reason to doubt the report. A forger is unlikely to introduce the woodlouse, and we know that both Aristotle and Theophrastus took note of this creature in their scientific treatises (*Research on Animals* 5.31 557a23 and *Research on Plants* 4.3.6,

<sup>37</sup> Regenbogen (1940) 1359 and Wehrli (1957) 27.

<sup>38</sup> Theophrastus died c. 287 BC, when he was in his eighties. On the dates 300 and 317–07 BC, see above, note 5.

<sup>39</sup> The Greek noun ὄβοϋς is applied to various creatures. Most commonly it is used of the ass, but it is also used of a fish of the cod family, of a wingless locust and of the woodlouse. See LSJ s.v. and Sharples (1995) 104–5.



respectively). But the report tells us very little about Phainias. He may have been interested in the woodlouse per se or in a particular context, and for that reason Theophrastus mentioned the woodlouse in a letter to him. Alternatively, Theophrastus may have had a special interest in the woodlouse that he wanted to share with Phainias. We can only guess.

If we consider the two letters together, we can say that on occasion Theophrastus and Phainias were apart, so that communication by letter was necessary. If we take into account that Theophrastus is credited with three volumes of letters to Astycreon, Phainias and Nicanor, and if we think that the letters to Phainias were a third or more of the collection, then we may be inclined to posit an extended period or several periods when the two Peripatetics were separated. But caution is in order. The existence of correspondence between Theophrastus and Phainias cannot by itself establish the idea that during Theophrastus' headship Phainias kept "his distance from the regular daily life of the school."<sup>40</sup> And perhaps more importantly, we should not ignore Philoponus, who tells us that Phainias wrote several works on logic: in particular, *Categories*, *On Interpretation* and *Analytics* (*On Aristotle's Categories* p. 7.16 Busse = text **11**). If we assume that these titles refer to treatises from which Phainias lectured, then it seems reasonable to believe that Phainias was for an extended period or periods in Athens as a regular member of the Theophrastean Peripatos.

An additional piece of evidence, text **13**, was omitted by Wehrli. It is a scholium on Aristotle's *On Interpretation*, in which we read, "In regard to this, Theophrastus says that in some cases, if the further qualification (προσδιορισμός) is not applied to the predicate too, the contradictory is true as well. For example, he (Theophrastus) says, if we assert 'Phainias has knowledge; Phainias does not have knowledge,' both statements can be true. For it is possible for him (Phainias) to have, say, knowledge of letters, but not knowledge of medicine" (CAG vol. 4.5 p. xxxiii.34–7 = Theophrastus 84 FHS&G, where the translation is faulty). On the basis of this text, it has been claimed that Theophrastus departed from Aristotle in that he recognized quantification of the predicate.<sup>41</sup> That is a mistaken view. Careful study of

<sup>40</sup> Engels (1998) 291.

<sup>41</sup> Mignucci (1999) 38–9.



the manuscript shows that the scholium has been flagged in at the wrong place. It concerns contradiction, and the reference to Phainias occurs in an example, which is intended to elucidate Aristotelian doctrine.<sup>42</sup> For our purposes, the important point is that Phainias is mentioned in a Theophrastean treatise, most likely *On Interpretation*, which will have been used in lecturing within the Peripatos. Our sources suggest that Theophrastus was a popular lecturer, and that he was concerned to keep his audience involved.<sup>43</sup> One way to do that will have been to personalize examples.<sup>44</sup> We may compare Aristotle, who repeatedly refers to Coriscus (e.g., *Posterior Analytics* 1.24 85a24, *Sophistical Refutations* 1.5 166b32, 1.14 173b31), his friend and fellow student in the Platonic Academy (Diogenes Laertius 3.46). Perhaps Theophrastus did much the same, referring to Phainias, who was well-known not only as a friend of Theophrastus but also as someone who gave his own lectures on logic and discussed issues such as truth value and contradiction. I imagine the audience perking up when Theophrastus mentioned Phainias, and if that is correct, then it seems reasonable to think of Phainias as a regular member of the School. In saying that, I am not claiming that Phainias was always present during the headship of Theophrastus, but I am suggesting that we should not think of him as an occasional visitor.

#### 41–55

Both Phainias and Theophrastus were interested in plants and wrote at length on the subject. In the case of Phainias, our knowledge of his work is dependent almost entirely on a single secondary source: namely, Athenaeus, who cites a treatise that ran at least five books (2 70D, 3 84C, 9 371C) and is referred to as either *Περὶ φυτῶν*, *On Plants* (2 54F, 61F, 70D, 9 371C, 406C) or *Φυτικά*, *Plant Matters* (2 58D,

<sup>42</sup> Fortenbaugh (1995) 161–76, (repr. 2003) 22–34. The Greek text of the scholion is found on p. 167, repr. p. 27; regarding the meaning of προσδιορισμός, see p. 173–4, repr. p. 32–3.

<sup>43</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.37 = 1.16 FHS&G, Athenaeus 1.38 21A–B = 12.1–4 FHS&G.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. how Aristotle repeatedly refers to Coriscus (e.g., *Posterior Analytics* 1.24 85a24, *Sophistical Refutations* 1.5 166b32, 1.14 173b31), his friend and fellow student in the Platonic Academy (Diogenes Laertius 3.46).

64D).<sup>45</sup> In the case of Theophrastus, we are not similarly dependent on a secondary source. His *Περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορία*, *Research on Plants*, and *Φυτικά ἀίτια*, *Plant Explanations*, survive: the former runs nine books and the latter six.

Clearly Phainias and Theophrastus had a common interest. That the two shared information is not stated explicitly, but it is not to be doubted. For example when Athenaeus tells us that Phainias says the same thing as Theophrastus concerning sweet bulbs that grow in the Tauric Chersonesus (2 64D = **50**), we might suppose that sharing occurred: either Theophrastus sharing what he had observed or *vice versa*. Or perhaps they engaged in fieldwork together and subsequently reported independently what they had observed in common. Be that as it may, it seems certain that on occasion Phainias reported material that was not based on autopsy: either his or that of Theophrastus. E.g., when Athenaeus goes on to cite Phainias regarding an Indian bulb that is hairy (2 64D = **50**), we should not imagine either Phainias or Theophrastus digging bulbs on the banks of the river Indus. Moreover, when Athenaeus offers a report concerning Phainias and no corresponding passage can be found in the treatises of Theophrastus,<sup>46</sup> we need not assume that a passage has been lost.<sup>47</sup> Phainias will have consulted a variety of sources in writing his work *On Plants*, and his lectures on botany within the Peripatos will have been his own, not simply “notes on Theophrastus.”

Athenaeus reports that Phainias cites the mushroom, truffle, fern and helix-ivy as plants that do not flower and are without any trace of a bud containing seed (2 61F = **42**). Wimmer aptly compares Theophrastus, *Research on Plants* 1.1.11 and 3.2.1. What interests me here is that the absence of a particular quality or feature is one of several ways in which Theophrastus and presumably Phainias chose to mark off different kinds of plants. I cite 1.1.6, where Theophrastus recognizes three ways in which plants differ in regard to their parts: by possessing or lacking, e.g., leaves and fruit; by being dissimilar in

<sup>45</sup> That *Περὶ φυτῶν* and *Φυτικά* refer to the same work and not to two different works of Phainias is certain. Cf. how Athenaeus uses both titles to refer to Theophrastus' *Research on Plants*: e.g., *Περὶ φυτῶν* 2 70D and *Φυτικά* 2 54F. *Περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορία* also occurs (1 31E).

<sup>46</sup> Athenaeus 68D = **51**. See Wehrli (1957) 42.

<sup>47</sup> Regenbogen (1940) 1443 and Wehrli (1957) 40.



appearance and unequal in number or size; by having parts that are arranged differently. In regard to the presence and absence of particular features, Phainias will have agreed with Theophrastus that the tree is a standard in that it possesses the features that other plants may or may not have. And he will have agreed that the truffle differs from the tree and most other plants in that it lacks not only flowers and buds but also, e.g., leaves, roots and bark (1.1.11). Phainias will also have focused on the small size of the truffle, which marks it off from most other plants. In doing that, he will have proceeded as Theophrastus did not only in botany but also in other areas of research. I am thinking especially of the Peripatetic analysis of emotions, in which absence and difference in degree (the more and the less) plays an important role.<sup>48</sup> But I resist developing the idea, for our named sources, i.e., those that refer explicitly to Phainias, include no text that speaks directly to the issue.

In regard to Phainias' botanical writings, our knowledge is almost totally derived from Athenaeus. That makes Athenaeus a valuable source, but we must keep in mind that he is not entirely reliable. By way of illustration I refer to a passage in Book 2 of the *Sophists at Dinner*, where Phainias is cited in regard to the mushroom, truffle, fern and helix-ivy (61F = **42**). We cannot check the report concerning Phainias, for his botanical work is lost, but we can check the reports concerning Theophrastus that precede and follow (61E–62A). Two reports precede, of which the first refers explicitly to *Research on Plants*, but there is no corresponding passage in that treatise.<sup>49</sup> The second mentions the Pillars of Hercules and says that when there is much rain mushrooms grow. In Theophrastus mention is made of the Pillars of Hercules, but it is a subsequent reference to the Red sea that governs what is said about much rain and mushrooms (4.7.1–2). The reports that follow are also two. The first speaks of the truffle and other plants as λειόφλοια, “smooth-skinned”, but Theophrastus says that they lack roots (1.6.5). The second refers to the truffle that some call γεράνειον, “crane-related.” Here again the corresponding text of

<sup>48</sup> See Fortenbaugh (1985, repr. 2003) 74–84. While having parts arranged differently is important in regard to objects like plants, there is no obvious application to emotional response.

<sup>49</sup> See Sharples (1995) 146–7.



Theophrastus is different: ἀσχίον, “puff-ball”, occurs and not γερᾶνειον (1.6.9).<sup>50</sup> These four examples of mistaken reports concerning Theophrastus ought to make us cautious when Athenaeus reports what Phainias says. But it does not follow that Athenaeus is in error when he offers a report concerning Phainias. Moreover and in fairness to Athenaeus, he may be reporting quite accurately what he reads. Only he may be following a secondary source that in one way or another misrepresents Phainias.<sup>51</sup>

## 20

Text **20** is drawn from Parthenius’ Ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα, *Erotic Sufferings*.<sup>52</sup> The work is dedicated to Cornelius Gallus, and if the dedication can be taken seriously, then the work was intended for Gallus’ use in composing poems.<sup>53</sup> Our particular concern is chapter 7, in which we read about a love affair that had political as well as personal consequences. The affair took place at Heracleia in Italy, where a man named Antileon fell in love with a beautiful boy named Hipparinus.<sup>54</sup> The boy set an apparently impossible task for Antileon, who managed to accomplish it. He thereby gained the favors that he sought, and the two became committed lovers. However, that is not the end of the story. The tyrant of Heracleia took a fancy to the boy and used his power to satisfy his desire. Finding the tyrant’s action intolerable, Antileon responded by killing the tyrant. His attempt at escape was derailed when he ran into a flock of sheep, which were tethered

<sup>50</sup> See Sharples (1995) 163–5.

<sup>51</sup> For brief remarks on Athenaeus’ use of secondary sources, see Commentary 6.1 (2011) 53–8 on Theophrastus’ ethical fragments.

<sup>52</sup> Or *Erotic Misfortunes*. On the title see Francese (2001) 69–72. According to Lightfoot (1999) 217, a suitable date for the composition of Parthenius’ work is any time between 52 and 26 BC.

<sup>53</sup> Lightfoot (2009) 471–2 comments that the dedication may be an advertising ploy for Parthenius’ collection of stories on erotic themes.

<sup>54</sup> There is an alternative tradition, according to which the affair took place in the neighboring town of Metapontium and not in Heracleia. See Plutarch, *Dialogue on Love* 16 760C, and cf. Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* 3.1 1229a21–3, on which see Kassel (1974) 190–1. According to Kassel and Wehrli (1957) 32, Heracleia is the more likely of the two.

together. Presumably he was put to death, so that an affair, which had seemed to bring happiness, ended in misfortune.<sup>55</sup>

Stories involving lovers and unhappy endings appeal to a wide audience. The early Peripatetics were no exception, so that we need not be surprised to find among the fragments of Theophrastus three reports that invite comparison with the story of Antileon and Hipparinus. One fragment is found in Strabo, who cites Theophrastus for the story of Leucocomas and his lover Euxynthetus. We are told that Leucocomas set tasks for Euxynthetus, among which was “fetching the dog in Praesus” (*Geography* 10.4.12 = 560 FHS&G). That relates to our Phainias text in that both stories involve a task imposed on a lover by the beloved. It differs in that Hipparinus responded to Antileon’s accomplishment by gratifying his desire, while Leucocomas seems to have treated Euxynthetus arrogantly and was punished for it. At least that is what Plutarch implies. (*Dialogue On Love* 16 760C).<sup>56</sup>

The other two fragments occur in Parthenius and are related to each other in that both involve war between the Milesians and the Naxians. We are told that war began when a Milesian woman named Neaera abandoned her husband for a Naxian man with whom she had fallen in love (18 = 625 FHS&G). War ended when an ally of the Milesians fell in love with a Naxian woman named Polycrite and responded positively to her request. He betrayed the Milesian army but was killed by mistake, as was Polycrite (9 = 626 FHS&G).<sup>57</sup> A relationship to the story of Antileon and Hipparinus is clear: requests/demands are placed on lovers and unwanted consequences are said to follow. There are also differences. The Theophrastean fragments tell of two affairs, each being between a man and a woman. In the case of Phainias, we have a single affair involving two males. In some contexts, these differences may be significant, but for our purposes the headings that in most editions introduce the reports of Partheius are of greater interest.

<sup>55</sup> Although not mentioned by Parthenius, Hipparinus, too, may have been put to death. See Kassel (1974) 191.

<sup>56</sup> Additional support for the proposed interpretation is provided by the parallel account of Leucocomas and Promachus as related by the historian Conon (1 BC–1 AD) *ap. Photius, Library* 186 133a = FGrH 26 F 1 [XVI].

<sup>57</sup> In Plutarch, *The Virtues of Women* 17 254B–E, the two stories are made into one. For fuller discussion of these reports, see my *Commentary* 6.1 (2011b) 681–5 on the ethics of Theophrastus as well as Lightfoot (1999) 418–22, 489–90.



At the head of Parthenius' account of Antileon and Hipparinus, as printed by Wehrli, Engels (in FGrH) and Lightfoot, we find the following report: Περὶ Ἰππαρίνου ἱστορεῖ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος, "On Hipparinus. Phainias of Eresus reports" (7). And at the head of the accounts concerning the Milesians and Naxians, as printed by FHS&G and Lightfoot, we read ἱστορεῖ Θεοφράστος ἐν α' Πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς, "Theophrastus reports in Book 1 of *Regarding Crises*" (18) and ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη ἐκ τῆς α' Ἀνδρίσκου Ναξιακῶν γράφει περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ δ' Πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς, "The story has been taken from Book 1 of Andriscus' Naxian (Histories). Theophrastus also writes about it in Book 4 of *Regarding Crises*" (9). When these reports are printed as headings immediately above the main text of the story in question, the reader is apt to think that these headings occupy the same place in the manuscript of Parthenius.<sup>58</sup> But that is not the case. Parthenius' work has come down to us in a single manuscript,<sup>59</sup> in which the reports occur in the margin. They are written in the hand of the scribe who wrote the main body of text, but that does not mean that the words can be attributed to Parthenius. Nor does it mean that the scribe has created reports *ex nihilo*. He is almost certainly following a source that postdates Parthenius. And if he is, the source may be reporting correctly.<sup>60</sup> That said, we should note that only one report claims to be giving Parthenius' actual source. It is the report accompanying the story of Polycrite, in which the words ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη ἐκ τῆς α' Ἀνδρίσκου Ναξιακῶν state or at least strongly imply that the story is actually taken from the work of Andriscus. What follows

<sup>58</sup> In the edition of Paul Sakolowski (1896) the marginal reports are printed as headings but enclosed in square brackets. In the English translation of Francese (2001), the reports occur as headings within round parentheses. Caveat: Francese adds to the reports (e.g., on page 215 he adds "Polycrite" in order to indicate the subject of story 9), and where no report exists he reports the subject as a heading in parentheses.

<sup>59</sup> Parthenius' *Erotic sufferings* comes to us in a single codex: namely, Palatinus Heidelbergensis Graecus 398. Lightfoot (1999) 303 dates the manuscript to the middle of the 9th century. To avoid a possible misunderstanding, the phrase "in one manuscript" in FGrH IVA.1 p. 304 line 4 fb might be changed to read "the sole manuscript."

<sup>60</sup> To some extent, the credibility of the scribe is increased by the fact that reports of the kind in question are lacking for ten of the 36 stories that constitute Parthenius' work. Apparently the scribe was not tempted to create reports where they were lacking. But the scribe remains only as accurate as his source.



concerning Theophrastus says no more than that he, too (also, καί), wrote about the subject.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, the report in which Phainias is named says only that he recorded the story. It does not say that Parthenius actually took over Phainias' version of the story, either verbatim or in paraphrase or both.<sup>62</sup>

A further concern is how to construe the phrase "On Hipparinus." When we compare the headings that introduce Theophrastean material (18 and 9 = 625 and 626 FHS&G), we may want to say that the phrase "On Hipparinus" is the title of a work by Phainias.<sup>63</sup> For *Regarding Crises* is undoubtedly the title of a work by Theophrastus. We are given books numbers (1 and 4) and the title appears in Diogenes' catalogue of Theophrastean writings.<sup>64</sup> But comparison with these headings is misleading. Most likely the phrase "On Hipparinus" is derived from the incipit, i.e., the opening sentence of the story in which reference is made to Hipparinus. The phrase may have been chosen by Phainias himself as the heading for a particular story (that of Hipparinus and Antileon) within a larger collection of stories, or it may post-date Phainias. I prefer the latter possibility, but either way, we are left wondering what was the title of the work from which **20** derives. Both Wehrli and Engels opt for *Tyrants killed in Revenge*.<sup>65</sup> That is reasonable. We have two fragments, **18** and **19**, which refer to that work

<sup>61</sup> Lightfoot (1999) 249. Caveat: we should not assume that Parthenius followed a single source slavishly. In the case before us (9) that would be the account of Andriscus. See Francese (2001) 84–90, who argues that Parthenius combined and adapted Naxian and Peripatetic versions. That said, I think it important to underline that the marginal report is minimal in regard to Theophrastus, and that we have no additional Theophrastean text with which we can compare Parthenius' version of the story.

<sup>62</sup> Hence, I am not altogether happy with Kassel's ([1974] 191) unqualified assertion that Parthenius has taken over the story of Antileon and Hipparinus from Phainias.

<sup>63</sup> That the preposition περί may introduce the title of a work is well-known. I cite a single example: the Theophrastean work Περὶ Δημοκρίτου (Diogenes Laertius 5.49 = 1.251 = 137 no. 32 FHS&G).

<sup>64</sup> In Diogenes' catalogue, the Theophrastean title appears as Πολιτικῶν πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς α'–δ' (5.45 = 1.144 FHS&G). In the case of Andriscus, we also have a title, *Naxian (Histories)*, accompanied by the book number α' (Parthenius 9 = 626.1 FHS&G).

<sup>65</sup> Wehrli (1957) 13 and Engels (1998) 272.

by title, and **20** presents a story in which a tyrant is killed for mistreating a youth. That said, it is well to underline that only two texts make explicit reference to *Tyrants Killed in Revenge*. Perhaps it was an inclusive work that brought together numerous examples of revenge being taken on tyrants. And if so, the story of Hipparinus and Antileon may well have been one of those examples. But we cannot totally exclude a work on eros.<sup>66</sup> The topic was popular in the early Peripatos: Aristotle, Theophrastus, Clearchus, Demetrius of Phalerum and Aristo of Ceus each wrote one or more works, whose titles make explicit reference to eros.<sup>67</sup> Phainias, too, may have written one, in which the story of Hipparinus and Antileon was told. I do not press the matter. Rather, I encourage caution in dealing with our meager sources.

Finally, I want to recall that both Phainias and Theophrastus are said to have driven out the tyrants from their fatherland (**7**). We are not told what motivated the two Peripatetics, nor are we told what motivated the general populace. Eros may have played a role, but there is no reason to believe that it was the single most important factor. More likely there were a variety of policies that were deemed unjust as well as various actions that evoked outrage and called for revenge. In such a situation revenge is not to be deplored. Rather it is fundamental to restoring and maintaining civic life. That Theophrastus recognized the importance of revenge is not to be doubted. He wrote a work entitled *On Revenge* (436 no. 22 FHS&G) and is said to have answered the question, “What holds together the life of men?” with the words “Beneficence and honor and revenge” (517).<sup>68</sup> In this response, last is not least. Only Theophrastus also recognized the dangers inherent in ill-conceived acts of revenge. To injure oneself in the process “is no less to pay a penalty than to extract one” (526.7–9). Phainias would agree; he could cite the death of Antileon to illustrate

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Lightfoot (1999) 408.

<sup>67</sup> See, e.g., my *Commentary* 6.1 (2011b) 213–15 and my article on Aristo of Ceus (2011a) 11–23.

<sup>68</sup> The question and reply are anecdotal and need not correspond to an actual/historical occurrence, but that does not impugn the idea that Theophrastus accepted the fundamental importance of revenge in maintaining society. For discussion see my *Commentary* 6.1 (2011b) 508.



taking revenge followed by unanticipated consequences, which can only be described as disastrous.<sup>69</sup>

### 38

Text **38** is drawn from Athenaeus' *The Sophists at Dinner*. The speaker is Cynulcus,<sup>70</sup> who is made to cite the second book of Phainias' work *On Poets*. There Phainias is said to have credited Stratoniscus of Athens with advances in music: he "was the first to introduce multiplicity of notes into simple harp-playing; he was also the first to accept pupils in harmony, and to compile a table of musical intervals." In addition, Phainias is said to have described Stratoniscus as "not unconvincing in regard to the ludicrous" (8 352C). Theophrastus is not mentioned in **38**, but connections with Theophrastus can be made. In particular, Phainias and Theophrastus shared an interest in poets and

<sup>69</sup> In his comment on **20**, Wehrli (1957) 32 first speaks of jealousy, *Eifersucht*, as the cause of murdering a tyrant and then goes on to speak of a lover putting his life on the line for the honor of his beloved, *für die Ehre seines Geliebten*. As I use the word "jealousy", I think it more readily applicable to Antileon as long he has not won over Hipparinus as his committed lover. I.e., as long as others are enjoying what Antileon wants for himself. Later when the two are committed lovers, Antileon is moved primarily by anger. He not only sees Hipparinus as a victim of outrage, but also feels personal outrage in that he regards Hipparinus as his own. In regard to anger, we may compare Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 2.2 1378a31, where anger, ὀργή, is said to be caused by an apparent insult directed toward oneself or one of one's own (e.g. Hipparinus). Applying Aristotle's notion of jealousy, φθόνος, to Antileon is more difficult, because he explains it not only as a pain caused by the good fortune of others like oneself but also speaks of feeling pain not with a view to obtaining something for oneself (2.10 1387b23–4). The latter feature seems not to fit Antileon, for he is prepared to do whatever is required to gain Hipparinus as his own. Perhaps then we should attribute a feeling of emulation, ζήλος, to Antileon. For Aristotle explains this emotion as a pain that is felt when others like ourselves possess goods that are highly valued and that can be obtained. Emulation we are told makes a person take steps to secure the good in question. That seems to fit Antileon, but Aristotle also says that emulation is not felt because others have the good in question and it does not make one take steps to deny others the good (2.11 1388a32–8). That hardly applies to Antileon. I leave the matter there, except to say that we have no fragment that reports Phainias' understanding (gives an essential definition) of anger, jealousy and emulation.

<sup>70</sup> Cynulcus is the nickname of a Cynic philosopher, Theodorus. See 1.2 1D and 15.9 669E with Gulick (1930) x and Mengis (1920) 36–7.

poetry: Phainias wrote a work *On Poets* (38), and Theophrastus wrote two works entitled *On (the Art of) Poetry* as well as one *On Comedy* (Diogenes Laertius 5.47–8 = 666 no. 20–2 FHS&G). Furthermore, the two Peripatetics shared an interest in music and firsts: Phainias took an interest in harp-playing and credited Stratonicus with firsts (38); Theophrastus wrote works *On Music*, *On the Musicians* and *Harmonics* (Diogenes Laertius 5.46–7, 49 = 714 no. 1–3) as well as one *On Discoveries*, in which “firsts” were recorded (5.47 = 727 no. 11; cf. texts 728–36).

Following on remarks concerning music, the concluding sentence of 38: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ οὐκ ἀπίθανος, “Also in regard to the ludicrous he (Stratonicus) was not unconvincing” (8 352C), may seem to be an awkward afterthought. But in fact it is this sentence, which relates Phainias’ report concerning Stratonicus to the larger context. What is printed as text 38 comes at the end of a long account of Stratonicus’ wit (8 347F–352D). The account takes its start some five pages earlier, when Cynulcus asks mockingly how Ulpian<sup>71</sup> can understand what Stratonicus said about the harp-singer Propis of Rhodes. Citing Clearchus’ work *On Proverbs*, Cynulcus says that Stratonicus attended a performance of Propis, and when Stratonicus was asked who the performer was, he replied by quoting the proverb “No bad fish is large,” thereby intimating first that Propis was a nobody, then that he was bad and in addition large, but a fish on account of his lack of voice (347F–348A = fr. 80 W). Cynulcus goes on to say that Theophrastus in his work *On the Ludicrous* reported that the proverb (with only minor variation in wording<sup>72</sup>) was spoken by Stratonicus and directed at the actor Simycas (348A = 710 FHS&G). Next comes an irrelevant excursus on Aristotle (348A–C),<sup>73</sup> after which Cynulcus reports a series of witty remarks by Stratonicus. Two remarks he claims to add on his own, and in what follows he cites six different sources, two of whom are Peripatetics contemporary with Theophrastus: namely, Clearchus and Callisthenes. Finally Cynulcus mentions Ephorus

<sup>71</sup> Ulpian is said to hail from Tyre (1 1D). Mengis (1920) 31–6 and Gulick (1930) x are inclined to identify him with the like-named Roman jurist, but the identification is problematic.

<sup>72</sup> The word order is changed and “rotten” replaces “bad”.

<sup>73</sup> On this material, see *Commentary* 8 (2005) 378–9 on the sources for Theophrastus’ rhetoric and poetics.



and Phainias indicating that both concerned themselves with the wit of Stratonicus, but no particular example is given (352C–D).<sup>74</sup> Our text, then, is a good example of how fragments removed from their larger context can give a false impression. In the case of **38**, what may appear to be an afterthought is in fact the sentence most relevant to the larger context. To be sure, reports concerning Stratonicus' advances in music are not entirely irrelevant: they relate to Stratonicus *qua* accomplished musician. But they do not bear directly on Stratonicus' capacity for making witty remarks. That said, a distinction should be drawn between the context in Athenaeus and the context in Phainias. In speaking of the final sentence as most relevant, I am focused on the context in Athenaeus, but if one focuses on the reference to Phainias' work *On Poets*, then the remarks on music may seem more relevant. It may be that in *On Poets* reference to Stratonicus' wit was made in passing and without an illustrative anecdote.<sup>75</sup>

In the final sentence, I have translated the concluding words οὐκ ἀπίθανος with “not unconvincing.” In FGrH, Engels prefers “nor did he fail to hit the mark.” Neither translation is wrong. If we think of Stratonicus' derisive characterization of Propis/Simycas, then “hitting the mark” seems apt, for Stratonicus has his sights set on a particular individual, whom he wishes to humiliate with barbed words. However, if we keep in mind that Stratonicus is responding to a question (at least in Clearchus' version), then translating “not unconvincing” seems apt, for it not only captures the root meaning of ἀπίθανος, but also makes clear that Stratonicus wants the people around him (both the person who put the question and whoever else may be present) to believe that he is characterizing correctly a singer/actor who lacks talent. He wants his listeners not only to see the humor in his playful use of a proverb but also to be persuaded that the intended humiliation

<sup>74</sup> In the text of Athenaeus, the remark concerning Stratonicus' capacity in regard to wit is followed by a further report concerning Stratonicus' wit. We are told that Stratonicus' outspokenness in jest caused him to be put to death by Nicocles, the king of Cyprus. That continues the focus on wit, but the report is not from Phainias. Athenaeus writes φασί “they say” (352D) as against φησί, “he (Phainias) says” (352C).

<sup>75</sup> If Athenaeus is drawing on a secondary source, then it is possible that his source has brought together material from two different works of Phainias. But once one goes down that road, possibilities are likely to multiply.

is entirely deserved. Along with Stratonicus, they will feel superior and express their feeling in laughter. That Aristotle embraced a superiority theory of humor is clear.<sup>76</sup> That Phainias and Theophrastus did too is a reasonable assumption.

## 22A–B

Text **22A** is found in Athenaeus' *The Sophists at Dinner* 333A. The speaker is Democritus,<sup>77</sup> who is made to say, οἶδα δὲ καὶ πολλαχοῦ ὕσαντα τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύσι· Φαινίας γοῦν ἐν δευτέρῳ Πρυτάνεων Ἐρεσίων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ φησὶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὕσαι τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύας, "I know, too, that in many places the god has made it rain with fish. At least Phainias, in the second book of *Eresian Prytaneis*, says that in the Chersonese the god made it rain fish for three days."<sup>78</sup> These words are repeated by Eustathius with only minor changes (*Commentary on Homer's Iliad* 1.39 = **22B**). I know of no fragment in which Theophrastus speaks of the god making fish rain down, but he does speak of raining snails and little frogs in a work of which excerpts are preserved by Photius. That work is entitled *Creatures that Appear in Swarms* (350 no. 5 FHS&G) and belongs among Theophrastus' writings on zoology. Without any reference to the god, Theophrastus tells us that some people wrongly believe that snails and frogs rain down. The snails and frogs, we are told, are already present in the ground. When it rains, they show themselves, because water flows into their burrows, διὰ τὸ εἰσρεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὰς θαλάμας αὐτῶν (359A.8–9 FHS&G). Whether or not Theophrastus' explanation is good science,

<sup>76</sup> See Aristotle's *Poetics* 2 1448a7, 5 1449a32–3 with my *Aristotle on Emotion* (1975) 20–1. Caveat I am not claiming that Aristotle or any other early Peripatetic advanced a superiority theory of humor without recognizing other sources of humor such as word play and bizarre behavior. Indeed, Stratonicus' derisive treatment of Propis/Simycas is effective because it both involves word play and evokes a sense of superiority. On Theophrastus fr. 710 FHS&G, see *Commentary* 8 (2005) 376–90.

<sup>77</sup> This Democritus is introduced by Athenaeus as a philosopher from Nicomedia (1 1D). He is not to be confused with the atomist from Abdera (born c. 460 BC).

<sup>78</sup> In what immediately precedes **22A**, Athenaeus has Democritus cite Nicolas of Damascus in regard to earthquakes that created new bodies of water and brought forth all kinds of fish (332F–333A). In what follows, he has Democritus cite Phylarchus who says that certain persons have seen it rain fishes and tadpoles. After that Heraclides Lembus is cited regarding frogs raining down (333A–B).



he is interested in explanation, i.e., stating the cause, αἰτία (359A.2, 5), and in the passage cited by Photius he offers one that connects rainwater with underground burrows. That Theophrastus might have explained reports concerning fish raining down in a similar manner seems to me possible. For Theophrastus recognized and was interested in fish that burrow into the ground when wet places dry up. That said, I resist further speculation and refer the interested reader to Bob Sharples' discussion of Theophrastus' short treatise on *Creatures That Remain on Dry Land*.<sup>79</sup>

In text **22A**, Athenaeus does not refer to a zoological work of Phainias. Instead, Athenaeus makes Democritus cite Phainias for what he records in *Eresian Prytaneis*, a chronicle, in which a variety of events and unusual phenomena will have been recorded year by year.<sup>80</sup> Some of the phenomena will have been marvelous. Raining fish is an example. Mentioning the god, i.e. Zeus, seems entirely appropriate, for if one believes that fish did in fact rain down, then divine causation seems likely. But here we must be careful. The idea that Zeus or the god makes rain occurs early in Greek literature<sup>81</sup> and became everyday folklore, such that it could be used in a chronicle, where it would not be taken literally.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, in the context of a chronicle Phainias is unlikely to have concerned himself with achieving scientific accuracy. In saying that, I do not want to rule out Phainias introducing a qualifier in order to distance himself from the marvel that he reports. We might take a cue from what Theophrastus says in *Creatures that Appear in Swarms* and imagine Phainias introducing the qualifier "as some people thought," ὥς τινες ᾤήθησαν (359A.7). Athenaeus or his source may have chosen to drop the qualifier either to achieve brevity or to avoid diminishing the reader's astonishment. But even if Phainias did not introduce a qualifier (as I think likely), there is no reason to believe that he and Theophrastus were in disagreement concerning

<sup>79</sup> Sharples (1992) 356–7, 364, 376–7.

<sup>80</sup> Engels (1998) 311–13.

<sup>81</sup> For Zeus see Homer, *Iliad* 12.25, *Odyssey* 14.457 and for the god see Herodotus, *Histories* 2.13.

<sup>82</sup> It also found its place on the comic stage. See Aristophanes, *Clouds* 367–73 and 1279–80.

rain. It is all water: never fish or snails and frogs, let alone “cats and dogs.”<sup>83</sup>

If the above discussion has shown (or more cautiously, encourages us to believe) that Phainias should not be thought of as an absentee member of the Theophrastean Peripatos (**11, 13**), that Phainias and Theophrastus had certain philosophic and scientific interests in common (**5, 41–55, 20, 38, 22A–B**) and that both took an interest in freeing Eresus from tyranny, perhaps in quite different ways (**7, 6**), then I have answered, at least to some degree, the questions that I posed at the beginning of this paper. In closing I want to underline that I have focused only on texts in which Phainias is referred to by name. If we consider unnamed texts and are comfortable with probabilities, then we might want to posit further connections between the two Ere-sians. An example is the importance of ambition, φιλοτιμία, in determining human behavior. In Plutarch’s *Life of Themistocles*, Phainias is cited on five occasions: texts **29–32, 34**. It is certainly possible that Phainias stands behind other Plutarchan passages including those in which an emphasis is placed on Themistocles’ ambition: 3.1–5, 5.3–5 BT.<sup>84</sup> We know that the Peripatetics were keenly interested in ambition as a motivating disposition: Aristotle takes note of φιλοτιμία in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (2.7 1107b31, 4.4 1125b22), and Theophrastus wrote a work in two books or rolls that carried the title Περὶ φιλοτιμίας (Diogenes Laertius 5.46 = 1.166 FHS&G).<sup>85</sup> It is probable that Phainias, too, was interested in ambition and that this interest showed itself in the treatment of particular individuals. But it cannot be demonstrated that the Plutarchan passages referred to above derive

<sup>83</sup> I am having fun here and not suggesting seriously that we should think of cats and dogs raining down from the heavens. According to *The Phrase Finder* (available on the internet), the phrase “raining cats and dogs” may derive from the fact that “in the filthy streets of 17th/18th century England, heavy rain would occasionally carry along dead animals and other debris. The animals didn’t fall from the sky, but the sight of dead cats and dogs floating by in storms could well have caused the coining of this colourful phrase.”

<sup>84</sup> See Laqueur (1938) 1589–90 and Engels (1998) 332 n. 181.

<sup>85</sup> On Theophrastus, see *Commentary* 6.1 (2011b) 188–92, 244, 365–8.



from a particular work of Phainias.<sup>86</sup> I leave the idea undecided and repeat the need for caution in dealing with the available sources.

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<sup>86</sup> Engels (1998) 332.

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### 3

## The Life and Times of Phaenias of Eresus

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History has not been kind to Phaenias. The ancient sources provide us with very slender evidence about his life and achievements other than several remnants of his literary publications. What we learn about the man is simply quite meager. Such a situation leaves ample room for speculation and conjecture. At any rate, let us investigate, as far as we can, some of the details of Phaenias' life and the times during which he lived.

First of all, there is the question of the spelling of the man's name. The ancient authorities present us with two forms—Φαινίας and Φανίας. The former, with the diphthong -αι-, is an Aeolic form, since we find a Φαινίας Φαινίου in an inscription from the island of Lesbos.<sup>1</sup> The spelling without the diphthong -αι- is Attic, as we can see from the list in Kirchner's

<sup>1</sup> IG XII.2.35 = Sylloge<sup>3</sup> 764; see Laqueur (1938) 1565.42–45.

*Prosopographia Attica*, where 22 occurrences of the name Φανίας, i.e., without the diphthong -αι-, are listed.<sup>2</sup>

According to the *Suda*, Phaenias “was (at his prime) in the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad and later during the reign of Alexander the Macedonian.”<sup>3</sup> The 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad was the four-year period between 336 and 333 B.C.; Alexander ruled from 336/5 B.C. until his untimely death in 323. Since the *floruit* of a person was gauged to be around the age of forty, we can count back from 336 and arrive at 376 as the earliest date for the birth of Phaenias. Since there is, however, a large period of time referred to here — 336–323 — we cannot be absolutely positive about his exact date of birth. Moreover, the reference to Alexander may only be meant to indicate his accession to the throne of Macedon in 336–335. If this is so, then we can delimit the birth date of Phaenias to the four-year period 376–373. It is worth noting that other Peripatetics were close contemporaries of Phaenias—namely, Aristoxenus of Tarentum, Dicaearchus of Messene, and Theophrastus. Aristoxenus is recorded by the *Suda* as being in his prime in the same Olympiad as Phaenias, i.e., 111, and is referred to as σύγχρονος Δικαί-άρχῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ.<sup>4</sup> Theophrastus appears to have been slightly younger than Phaenias, since he was most likely born in either the first or second year of the 102<sup>nd</sup> Olympiad, i.e., 372/1 or 371/0 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

Phaenias hailed from the maritime town of Eresos, which is situated on the southwestern coast of the island of Lesbos.<sup>6</sup> Since the toponym ὁ

<sup>2</sup> Kirchner (1903) vol. 2, pp. 340–341, nos. 14007–14028.

<sup>3</sup> *Suda* Φ 73 = Phaenias 1: ... ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ῥιάς ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ μετέπειτα ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοϋ. While I realize that ἦν means “he was,” it has been adequately documented by E. Rohde (1878) pp. 165–6, that in the *Suda* ἦν regularly indicates a person’s *floruit* and is used interchangeably with γέγονε.

<sup>4</sup> *Suda* A 3927 = Dicaearchus 2 Mirhady.

<sup>5</sup> This date is determined from the statement of Diogenes Laertius 5.40 (FHS&G 1.46) where he relates that Theophrastus died at the age of eighty-five. Strato assumed leadership of the Peripatos after Theophrastus in Ol. 123 (Apollodorus ap. Diog. Laert. 5.58 = Apollod. FGrH 244 F 40 = Strato, fr. 1.7–9 Sharples) = 288/7–285/4 B.C. This span of years will have also included the time of Theophrastus’ death. See also Sollenberger (1984) pp. 206–208.

<sup>6</sup> Seventeen fragments refer to Phaenias as Ἐρέσιος. Plutarch twice calls him Λέσβιος (26 and 31). Strabo (2) writes that he was ἐξ Ἐρέσου.



Ἐρέσιος is regularly given with Phaenias' name, it is assumed that he was born there. Eresos, one of the pentapoleis of Lesbos, was, of course, also the hometown of Theophrastus.<sup>7</sup> It is likely that the two were acquainted with one another in their early youth.

Multiple sources relate that Phaenias was a student of Aristotle. Four times he is referred to as Aristotle's "student" (μαθητής **1**, **6**, **11**, and **47**) and once as his "acquaintance" (γνώριμος **2**). It is nowhere stated when or how Phaenias came to meet Aristotle. He may have been introduced to him by Theophrastus who had joined Aristotle in Assos at the court of Hermias of Atarneus where they stayed for three years, 347–345.<sup>8</sup> Those who were with Aristotle in Assos are specifically named: Erastus, Coriscus, Theophrastus, and Callisthenes; unfortunately, Phaenias' name does not appear.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps it is more likely that they met in Mytilene on Lesbos, for Aristotle moved there in 345 and remained there with his entourage until he was summoned by King Philip to be the tutor of his son Alexander in 343.<sup>10</sup>

Did Phaenias teach in the Peripatos in Athens? Flashar thought so, for he wrote about "die als Vorlesungsunterlagen entstandenen botanischen Schriften."<sup>11</sup> But nowhere is it explicitly stated that he spent time in Athens, teaching or otherwise. Indeed, the fact that Theophrastus is reported to have written a letter or letters to Phaenias makes it clear that the two were not always together.<sup>12</sup> In his list of Theophrastus' writings Diogenes Laertius includes a work entitled Ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀστυκρέοντι, Φανίᾳ, Νικάνορι,<sup>13</sup> which might well mean that there were several letters that Theophrastus wrote to Phaenias. First as a student and then as scholarch

<sup>7</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.36 (= FHS&G 1.1) and a host of other ancient writers.

<sup>8</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.3, Apollodorus in Diog. Laert. 5.9, Dion. Hal., *Epist. ad Ammaeum* 5, Didymus, *Comm. in Demosth. Or.* 5.51 (Gaiser [1985] pp. 11–12), Philodemus, *Index Acad. Herc. Col.* V, lines 1–18 (Gaiser [1985] p. 13).

<sup>9</sup> Didymus, *Comm. in Demosth. Or.* 5.51 (Gaiser [1985] pp. 11–12).

<sup>10</sup> Dion. Hal., *Epist. ad Ammaeum* 5.

<sup>11</sup> Flashar (1983) p. 552.

<sup>12</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.37 = Phaenias **4** = FHS&G 1.16–21; the contents of this letter are discussed below.

<sup>13</sup> Diog. Laert. 5.50 = FHS&G 1.275).

of the Peripatos, Theophrastus himself surely was residing in Athens. Phaenias, it would seem, was not in Athens at the time when the letter was written, but perhaps at home in Eresos. Beyond that, there is no evidence of his presence in Athens.

It has been conjectured that Phaenias spent time in Sicily and Southern Italy.<sup>14</sup> This may also be based on Phaenias' mention of a cactus which is native to Sicily and is not found in Greece.<sup>15</sup> Phaenias' work *On the Tyrants in Sicily* does show some knowledge of Sicily and Southern Italy. Moreover, the story of Hipparinus re-told by Parthenius comes from Phaenias' writings and takes place in Heraclea in Southern Italy.<sup>16</sup> It may have been that he actually did spend time in Sicily and/or Southern Italy, but there is no explicit testimony to corroborate this.

The varied nature and range of Phaenias' writings show him to have been a typical Peripatetic. Plutarch praises him as "a philosophical man not unacquainted with historical matters."<sup>17</sup> His broad investigations of literary history continued the tradition to which Aristotle directed his students. Various authors cite titles of eleven works, some in multiple books. Like many others, he wrote an *On Poets*, in at least two books. In his *On Socratics* he may have encompassed a whole philosophical school.<sup>18</sup> Three works dealt with political history (*On the Tyrants in Sicily*, in at least two books, *The Rulers of the Eresians*, and *The Assassination of Tyrants out of Revenge*) and one, in at least five books, dealt with natural history (*On Plants*). In light of Plutarch's extensive borrowing of materials from Phaenias in his *Life of Solon* (26–27) and *Life of Themistocles* (29–35), Phaenias may have written biographies, too. In his collection of the fragments of Phaenias' works Voisin includes eight dedicatory epigrams,

<sup>14</sup> Meyer (1854) 1.189 on the basis of 16, 17, 18, 43, and 56B.

<sup>15</sup> Phaenias 43; cf. Flashar (1983) p. 553.

<sup>16</sup> Parthenius, *Erotica pathemata* 7 = Phaenias 20. It may have been at Metapontum; cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 760C, and Aristotle, *EE* 1229a2.

<sup>17</sup> Plutarch, *Themistocles* 13 = Phaenias 31; cf. Plutarch's similar praise of Theophrastus as "a man fond of listening and well-informed beyond any of the philosophers" (*Life of Alcibiades* 10.3 = FHS&G 705).

<sup>18</sup> See Bodin (1917) p. 153.



which appear under the name of Phantias in the *Greek Anthology*.<sup>19</sup> This Phantias, however, is most likely not the Eresian philosopher. In his Loeb edition and translation of this work Paton lists the epigrammatist Phantias as active in the 3<sup>rd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>20</sup>

Plutarch tells us that Theophrastus and Phaenias “cleared away the tyrants from their city.”<sup>21</sup> Who were those tyrants in Eresos and when were they in power? It is a complicated issue, to be sure, involving sometimes contradictory and obscure reports from several sources. I have attempted to sort out the details at the risk of oversimplifying the matter.

In the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., three brothers, Hermon, Heraios, and Apollodoros, gained political supremacy in Eresos. Later, in 336, the Macedonian generals Parmenion and Attalos came to Lesbos.<sup>22</sup> Altars to Zeus Philippios were built in Lesbos (and perhaps in Antissa),<sup>23</sup> the tyrants were expelled and their property confiscated.<sup>24</sup> In the following year, 335, Memnon of Rhodes with Persian troops forced the Macedonians to retreat northward and then captured Lesbos and installed tyrants in Antissa and Eresos.<sup>25</sup> Then in 334, Alexander’s general Alkimachos retook Lesbos, got rid of tyrannies and oligarchies and restored legitimate governments.<sup>26</sup> In the next year, 333, Memnon showed up again on Lesbos and established tyrants in the cities.<sup>27</sup> In Eresos he apparently appointed Agonippos and Eurysilaos as tyrants. Finally, in 332, Alexander’s admiral Hegelochos gained control of the island, captured the tyrants, and sent them to Alexander in Egypt. Alexander, however, sent them back to their

<sup>19</sup> Voisin (1824) pp. 44–63; votive epigrams (6.294, 295, 297, 299), dedicatory (6.304, 307), funereal (7.537), and homoerotic (12.31). Dorandi discusses these in the present volume.

<sup>20</sup> Paton (1916) index, p. 500.

<sup>21</sup> Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 15 1097B = Phaenias 7 = FHS&G 33A; in another work Plutarch reports that Theophrastus twice liberated his fatherland from tyranny (*Adv. Colotem* 33 1126F = FHS&G 33B).

<sup>22</sup> Diodorus 16.91.2.

<sup>23</sup> According to Heisserer (1980) p. 77.

<sup>24</sup> Tod (1948) 191.5–6, 30–32.

<sup>25</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.11.6.

<sup>26</sup> Arrian 1.17.1–2 and 2.1.4–5.

<sup>27</sup> Arrian 2.2.1.

city for judgment by the citizens.<sup>28</sup> The practically unanimous decision was the death penalty.<sup>29</sup> At some time later the descendants of Hermon, Heraios, and Apollodoros requested that they be restored by Alexander<sup>30</sup> and Philip III Arrhidaios,<sup>31</sup> but these requests were denied. In a similar manner the descendants of the Eresian tyrants Agonippos and Eurysilaos later demanded restoration by Antigonos Monophthalmos and this demand was rejected as well.<sup>32</sup>

It seemed to Pistorius and Heisserer that there were three periods of tyranny in Eresos during the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.: one from some time perhaps in the 350s until 336, a second one during 335–334, and a third during 333–332.<sup>33</sup> The names of these tyrants have survived in the inscription from Eresos, but there has been some controversy about which tyrants ruled during these three periods. Apollodoros and his brothers (κασίγνητοι) Hermon and Heraios are named<sup>34</sup> as are Agonippos and Eurysilaos.<sup>35</sup> Pistorius identified the tyrants at Antissa and Eresos mentioned by Pseudo-Demosthenes 17.7 as Agonippos and Eurysilaos, arguing that they were banished twice, once in 334 and again in 332.<sup>36</sup> Heisserer, however, contends that one family of tyrants was expelled from the city in 334, and another, different family in 332.<sup>37</sup> He identifies Apollodoros, Hermon, and Heraios as the tyrants expelled in 334 and Agonippos and Eurysilaos in 332. In a more recent article Lott proposed that there were not three but only two tyrannies in Eresos—from 338 or before until 336 and from 333 to 332.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Arrian 3.2.6–7; cf. Q. Curtius 4.8.11, where there is the variant reading *Ersilaum* for *Stesilaum*; see Heisserer (1980) p. 73 n. 48.

<sup>29</sup> In the inscription from Eresos (Tod [1948] 191.30–32) it is said that the vote was 876 for execution and 7 for acquittal.

<sup>30</sup> Tod (1948) 191.34–42.

<sup>31</sup> Tod (1948) 191.99–101.

<sup>32</sup> Tod (1948) 191.105–116.

<sup>33</sup> Pistorius (1913) pp. 121–123 and Heisserer (1980) pp. 77–78.

<sup>34</sup> Tod (1948) 191.136–139.

<sup>35</sup> Tod (1948) 191.19, 21, 64–5, 115, 130–131.

<sup>36</sup> Pistorius (1913) pp. 121–123.

<sup>37</sup> Heisserer (1980) pp. 71 and 76 n. 41.

<sup>38</sup> Lott (1996) pp. 26, 38.



At any rate, it seems clear that the first tyrants of Eresos were Apollodoros, Hermon, and Heraios. That this tyranny may have existed before 338 may be corroborated by a passage in Pseudo-Demosthenes, where the orator argues:

It is a ridiculous principle to throw out the tyrants from Lesbos, like the tyrants of Eresos and Antissa, who established themselves before the compact, because their rule is an injustice, and yet think that it is a matter of indifference at Messene, where the same harshness exists.<sup>39</sup>

πρὸ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν probably refers to the Common Peace established by Philip II after the battle of Chaeronea in 338. Thus Heisserer and Lott concluded that the tyranny of Apollodoros, Hermon, and Heraios was in existence before 338. The third tyranny was that of Agonippos and Eury-silaos. There does not appear to be a definite answer as to who the tyrants were who were banished in 334, if indeed such a tyranny even existed in Eresos in that year.<sup>40</sup> But we are investigating Phaenias' involvement in the tyrants of his hometown.

How did Phaenias and Theophrastus "clear away the tyrants from their city," as Plutarch reports? They probably assisted in the overthrow of the tyrants indirectly, according to Heisserer, perhaps by interceding with the kings of Macedon to banish them.<sup>41</sup> Lott suggests that "Plutarch must mean that Theophrastus spoke with Alexander on behalf of his patria," about the removal of the tyrants in Eresos, Apollodoros, Hermon, and Heraios.<sup>42</sup> Pistorius further suggests that it was in 343 that Philip II expelled Hermon, Heraios, and Apollodoros as tyrants of Eresos.<sup>43</sup> He bases

<sup>39</sup> Ps.-Demosthenes 17.7: ἀλλὰ καταγέλαστος ὁ λόγος, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ Λέσβου τυράννους, οἷον ἐξ Ἀντίσσης καὶ Ἑρέσου, ἐκβαλεῖν ὡς ἀδικήματος ὄντος τοῦ πολιτεύματος, τοὺς πρὸ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τυραννήσαντας, ἐν δὲ Μεσσήνῃ μηδὲν οἶεσθαι διαφέρειν, τῆς αὐτῆς δυσχειρίας ὑπαρχούσης.

<sup>40</sup> Lott (1996) p. 26.

<sup>41</sup> Heisserer (1980) pp. 75 and 79.

<sup>42</sup> Lott (1996) p. 38.

<sup>43</sup> Pistorius (1913) pp. 120–122, followed by Sonnabend (2004) p. 22, who states that they came to power "around 350 B.C."

his claim on Aelian's statement that "Philip honored Theophrastus,"<sup>44</sup> so that, being on good terms with the king, Theophrastus may have had the opportunity to persuade Philip to depose the tyrants in his hometown. Heisserer finds this date too early for Theophrastus' influence with Philip, not to mention Phaenias. Theophrastus left Mytilene with Aristotle and went to Philip's court in 343.<sup>45</sup> Heisserer believes that Theophrastus would not have had enough time and access to Philip to persuade him to intervene in Eresos in the same year that he arrived in Macedonia.<sup>46</sup> But Phaenias does not appear to have been in Aristotle's entourage at the Macedonian court. Therefore he connects Theophrastus' and presumably Phaenias' assistance in the toppling of the tyrants Agonippos and Eurysilaos in 332.<sup>47</sup> It is likely that Theophrastus did not participate directly in the ousting of the tyrants, for he was in Athens engaging in his research and administering affairs of the Peripatetic school as scholarch. Perhaps he was organizing various citizen groups in Eresos through agents and correspondence. It may have been different with Phaenias. If, in fact, he was residing in Eresos, he may have participated directly in the overthrow of the tyrants. However, there is simply no further evidence that explains the manner in which either of the two men drove out the tyrants from their hometown.

I come now to the letter of Theophrastus to Phaenias. There are two sources that quote this letter or letters—Diogenes Laertius and a Scholium

<sup>44</sup> Aelian, *Varia Historia* 4.19 = FHS&G 28: καὶ (Φίλιππος) Πλάτωνα δὲ ἐτίμησε καὶ Θεόφραστον.

<sup>45</sup> Dion. Hal., *Epist. ad Ammaeum* 5.

<sup>46</sup> Heisserer (1980) pp. 75–77 and n. 55.

<sup>47</sup> He assigns Theophrastus' second intervention with tyrants to 324, in which he helped to block the attempt of the descendants of former tyrants to return from exile (pp. 76–77). Lott (1996) p. 27 is of a different opinion. He states: "While in Egypt Agonippos attempted (unsuccessfully) to implicate the *demos* of Eresos in his crimes. It is here that Theophrastos must have spoken against tyranny for the second time. Alexander surely needed no urging to remove the medizing Agonippos and Eurysilaos. Perhaps Theophrastos refuted Agonippos' charge against the *demos*." That Agonippos lied to Alexander about the implication of the Eresians is found in the inscription from Eresos, Tod (1948) 191.14–15: καὶ τὸ τελεύταιον ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον κατεψεύδετο καὶ διέβαλλε τοῖς πολίταις.



on the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes.<sup>48</sup> I want to concentrate only on Diogenes' excerpt since the scholium concerns the wood louse (ἵουλος), which, as Theophrastus writes in his letter to Phaenias, is also called "ass" (ὄνος). Theophrastus' correspondence with Phaenias gives further testimony of the close relationship between the two men. That Theophrastus wrote a letter to Phaenias shows that they were not together at the time. However, we can only guess where each man was, for the letter is difficult to pinpoint in both time and place. I offer my own text and translation of the passage:<sup>49</sup>

οὗτος τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ περὶ δεικτηρίου τοιαῦτα διείλεκται ἐν τῇ πρὸς Φανίαν τὸν περιπατητικὸν ἐπιστολῇ· “οὐ γὰρ ὅτι πανήγυριν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συνέδριον ῥάδιον οἶόν τις βούλεται, λαβεῖν. αἱ δ' ἀναγνώσεις ποιοῦσιν ἐπανορθώσεις. τὸ δ' ἀναβάλλεσθαι πάντα καὶ ἀμελεῖν οὐκέτι φέρουσιν αἱ ἡλικίαι.”

In his letter to Phaenias the Peripatetic, he discussed, among other things, matters concerning the lecture-hall as follow: 'Not only is it not easy to get a public assembly, but even a small company of listeners as one would like. Public readings lead to revisions. The present generation no longer tolerates the deferring of everything and lack of care.'

There have been at least four different interpretations of this epistolary excerpt that have been proposed. Boyancé adopted the variant reading δικαστηρίου instead of δεικτηρίου and accordingly saw συνέδριον as a reference to the official tribunal of the Areopagus.<sup>50</sup> He claimed that δικαστηρίου is the correct reading since συνέδριον is found applied to an assembly having a particularly respectable character, and frequently to the Areopagus. In a note to this claim he wrote that the word has great prestige and is nowhere applied to a simple, private association.<sup>51</sup> The passage

<sup>48</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.37 = FHS&G 1.16–21 = Phaenias **4** and the Scholium 1.972 = FHS&G 374 = Phaenias **5**.

<sup>49</sup> FHS&G 1.16–21.

<sup>50</sup> Boyancé (1936) pp. 312–313.

<sup>51</sup> Boyancé cites *IG* II.2.3667.2–3 and 3744.10, and Aelian, *Varia Historia* 8.12 = FHS&G 32A: “For even he (Theophrastus) broke down while speaking before the council of the Areopagus and put forward this excuse, that he was dumbstruck at the majesty of

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the council (ὅτι κατεπλάγη τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ συνεδρίου).”

in Aelian seemed to Boyancé to confirm the meaning of συνέδριον in the letter of Theophrastus, for Aelian reports Theophrastus himself as referring to the tribunal as a συνέδριον. Boyancé related the entire passage to the charge of impiety brought against Theophrastus by Agnonides.<sup>52</sup> The “lectures” or “public readings” of which Theophrastus writes (ἀναγνώσεις), Boyancé claimed, were his arguments to the court, which produced a happy effect on the judges.

A second interpretation of the letter-excerpt depends on the translation of αἱ ἡλικίαί. Apelt translated “die zunehmenden Jünglingsjahre.”<sup>53</sup> Hicks rendered the word as “the present generation of pupils.”<sup>54</sup> They both understood Theophrastus’ words as a complaint about the critical attitude of his audiences. The discriminating responses of those who attend recitations force one to rework and revise one’s writings. This is the reason why the audiences one would like to have, that is, audiences that are less critical, ones that will not delay publication by forcing continual revisions with their criticisms, are not easy to obtain.

Regenbogen and Wehrli proposed a third interpretation.<sup>55</sup> They supposed that Phaenias had written a letter to Theophrastus in which he urged him not to expend himself in his recitations because he would not find his audience to his liking. Theophrastus responded that it is not easy to obtain a favorable audience, public or private. Public recitations do, however, provide the opportunity of making improvements to what one has written. But now, he remarks, my (old) age will no longer endure delays for revision; my works must now be published. Regenbogen interpreted the passage as Theophrastus’ lament over his advancing age. This does fit with other similar statements in which Theophrastus expresses his preoccupation with time.<sup>56</sup> However, the translation of αἱ ἡλικίαί as “my (old) age” is questionable. The translation “generation” is much more natural for the plural of the noun.

<sup>52</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.37 = FHS&G 1.14–15.

<sup>53</sup> Apelt (1921/1967) p. 330 in a note specifies the meaning of the word further: “Die ἡλικίαί sind doch wohl auf die heranwachsende Jugend zu beziehen.”

<sup>54</sup> Hicks (1925) p. 485.

<sup>55</sup> Regenbogen (1940) 1359.38–1360.2 and Wehrli (1967) vol.9 p. 27.

<sup>56</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.40 = FHS&G 1.44–45 and 54–55.



Yet a fourth interpretation was put forward by Heisserer. Here is his translation:

In his letter to Phantias the Peripatetic, Theophrastos among other topics made reference to a trial (reading δικαστηρίου) in the following manner. ‘It is not easy to obtain a national gathering, nor even a meeting of the *synhedrion* such as one would like; and the readings (to a degree) produce only corrections. The times no longer bear putting off everything and taking no care’.<sup>57</sup>

Heisserer’s interpretation is that the letter is to be connected with the trial of the tyrants of Eresos. He explains: “Theophrastos seems to be complaining to his fellow philosopher [Phaenias] that one can no longer obtain proper meetings of the *synhedrion* at Korinth to try culprits, while sending off letters to the king (Alexander) results in the city (Eresos) making corrections in their own decrees on the basis of the king’s responses (*diagrammata*).”<sup>58</sup> Heisserer’s clever argument depends largely on the adoption of the reading δικαστηρίου in Diogenes Laertius’ text, which he claims “the manuscripts ... all show.” This statement is not exactly correct and I want to resist the adoption of δικαστηρίου. δεικτηρίου is the reading of the codices B (Neapol. Burbon. III B29) and of V (Vatic. 1302) before correction; it is italicized to δικτηρίου in three other codices—F (Laurent. 69.13) before correction, P (Paris. 1759) before correction, and Q (Paris. 1758). The variant reading δικαστηρίου is a correction in F; it is added above the line of text in P, in the margin in V. If this excerpt of Theophrastus is concerned with lecturing and scholarly publication, as Regenbogen and Wehrli believed, then it is difficult to see how δικαστηρίου, i.e., a tribunal, can make much sense.<sup>59</sup> It is possible that the correction of δεικτηρίου to δικαστηρίου was made in view of the passage that occurs just before the letter-excerpt concerning the prosecution of Theophrastus for impiety by Agnonides, which seemingly took place in a court

<sup>57</sup> Heisserer (1980) p. 74.

<sup>58</sup> Heisserer (1980) p. 75.

<sup>59</sup> In a note to this passage, Hicks (1925) pp. wrote, “It is difficult to see how this topic can have been worked into a letter on the law courts as such, and there is much to be said for Mr. Wyse’s emendation διδασκαλίου. If this be accepted, the whole letter would be about means or subjects of instruction in lecture.”

of law.<sup>60</sup> The word δεικτήριον may be used both of a lectern or pulpit and of a lecture-room or -hall. Basil of Seleucia, Archbishop of Isauria (d. A.D. 458/460), gives the following definition of the δεικτήριον: “This (*sc.* δεικτήριον) is the name for the place where speakers make a presentation (ἐπιδείκνυνται), that is, the pulpit (ὁ ἄμβων) or the lecture-hall (τὸ ἀκροατήριον).”<sup>61</sup> Diogenes uses the word in a related sense. He refers to the lecture-hall or classroom where Theophrastus delivered his lectures to his students. The conjectures of Wyse (διδασκαλίου) and Apelt (διδασκηρίου) are therefore unnecessary, for they are both practically synonymous with δεικτηρίου.

Finally, there is the matter of the death of Phaenias. No source tells us when or how he died.<sup>62</sup> He may have predeceased Theophrastus, for he is not named in Theophrastus’ will as one might possibly expect.<sup>63</sup> Then again, if, as Wehrli and Regenbogen supposed,<sup>64</sup> Theophrastus wrote the letter to Phaenias as an old man, Phaenias may have lived into the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. It is not a matter of the reliability of sources or any contradictions among sources, but rather the total absence of any source concerning the death of Phaenias.

<sup>60</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.37 = FHS&G 1.14–15.

<sup>61</sup> *De vita ac miraculis S. Theclae virginis martyris Iconiensis* 2.29 (*Patrologia Graeca* vol. 85, col. 612D–613A).

<sup>62</sup> Gottschalk (2007) 901 writes: “He is generally believed to have lived approx. 375–300 B.C.” Engels (1998) 290 claims that Phaenias probably died at some time between 317 and 307. Both are possible, but still are guesses.

<sup>63</sup> Diogenes Laertius 5.51–57 = FHS&G 1.295–365). Theophrastus bequeaths his inheritance of the family property at home (οἶκοι; i.e., in Eresos) to Pancreon and Melantes, who may have been his nephews, the sons of his brother Leon. See Regenbogen (1940) 1361.53–56.

<sup>64</sup> Regenbogen (1940) 1359.38–1360.2 and Wehrli (1967) vol.9 p. 27.



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## 4

# The Fragments of Phantias of Eresus: Before and After Wehrli

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It is nearly two hundred years since, for the first time, A. Voisin collected and discussed the fragments of the Peripatetic Phantias of Eresus in his *Diatribes de Phania Eresio, philosopho Peripatetico*, published in Ghent in 1824.<sup>1</sup> The year after the publication of Voisin's *Diatribes*, Johan Friedrich Ebert devoted some pages to Phantias in his *Dissertationes Siculae* (1825). Some twenty years later (1848), the fragments of Phantias were again collected in the second volume of the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* of C. Müller. The first modern edition was, however, that of F. Wehrli, who devoted the first part of the ninth volume of the *Schule des Aristoteles* to Phantias (1957/1969). In the almost one hundred years that separate Müller's collection from that of Wehrli there was the article "Phainias aus Eresos" by R. Laqueur for the *Realencyclopädie* of Pauly and Wissowa (1938).<sup>2</sup> Wehrli also wrote, some years later (1983), a brief profile of the philosopher for the updating of Ueberweg's *Grundriss der Geschichte der*

<sup>1</sup> Voisin (1824). Cf. the *Diatribes de Clearcho Solensi philosopho Peripatetico* by J.B. Verraert published in Ghent in 1828 and see Dorandi (2011) 1–15.

<sup>2</sup> Laqueur (1938).

*Philosophie*, revised by G. Wöhrle (2004).<sup>3</sup> In the meantime, Johannes Engels published a new (partial) collection of fragments of Phantias in Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker Continued* (1998).<sup>4</sup> Finally, the article by Jean-Pierre Schneider for the *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques* of R. Goulet should be noted.<sup>5</sup>

In my contribution, I propose to review the editions that have arisen surrounding Phantias from Voisin to Engels. With regard to each issue I will give a brief description, summarizing its content and structure, and set out its criteria, discussing editorial problems that relate to the individual fragments. Finally, I shall list some *Addenda et corrigenda*—neither systematic nor complete—like the always useful *Addenda Peripatetica* of Gottschalk.<sup>6</sup>

### 1. The *Diatribē de Phantia Eresio, philosopho Peripatetico* of A. Voisin

The *Diatribē de Phantia Eresio philosopho Peripatetico* of Voisin is the first systematic research devoted to Phantias of Eresus. Like any pioneering work, it has flaws and uncertainties, but it also has the merit of having attracted serious attention to Phantias and of having opened the way to subsequent editions of collections of his fragments.

In the first chapter (9–11: “De vita et scriptis Phantiae”), Voisin discusses the few data on the life and works of Phantias, beginning with the testimony of the *Suda* (1). He pays special attention to variations of the spellings Φανίας/Φαινίας in the *Suda* and elsewhere and to the (false) attribution to Phantias of the ethnic designation “Ephesian” (Ἐφέσιος) instead of “Eresian” (Ἐρέσιος) reported by several authors (27, 28A–B). The “Index librorum” (11) follow where nine titles of lost works by Phantias are listed (in Greek and in Latin translation) as having been recovered from the ancient sources: 1. Περὶ φυτῶν; 2. Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων; 3. Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας; 4. Περὶ πρυτανέων Ἑρεσίων; 5. Περὶ ποιητῶν; 6. Περὶ Σωκρατικῶν; 7. Πρὸς τοὺς Σοφιστάς; 8. Κατηγορίαι, καὶ περὶ ἑρμηνείας καὶ Ἀναλυτικῆ; 9. Ἐπιγράμματα.

<sup>3</sup> Wehrli (1983) 552–4 and Wöhrle (2004) 588–90, 655 (bibliography).

<sup>4</sup> Engels (1998).

<sup>5</sup> Schneider (2012).

<sup>6</sup> Gottschalk (1973) 98–9.



The second chapter constitutes the highlight of the *Diatribē*. “In referendis igitur Phantiae fragmentis hunc ordinem sequar, ut primum loca exhibeam ex illis operibus, quae nominatim a veteribus citantur, et deinde hic subjiciam reliquias ex libris incertis desumtas.”<sup>7</sup> The chapter is divided into two distinct parts. In the first (“De Scriptorum reliquiis”: 12–63), Voisin analyzes separately the titles of Phantias’ writings that he had listed and under each of these titles he publishes texts that ancient sources attribute to that specific work. In particular, he discusses the reports of fragments attributed to the book *Περὶ φυτῶν* (12–28), which already include most of the texts that we find later in the edition of Wehrli.<sup>8</sup>

The title that led to the surprise is the last, *Ἐπιγράμματα*. This attribution (despite being revived by Ebert) is the weakest part of Voisin’s book and has (rightly) not been adopted by any of the subsequent editors.<sup>9</sup> The epigrammatic poet is a homonym of uncertain date.<sup>10</sup>

In the second part (“Nunc igitur ad illa loca progrediamur, quae ignoramus, e quibusnam Phantiae scriptis excerpta sint,” 64), Voisin reviews a list of authors who transmit passages copied from Phantias (64–87). He reproduces the fragments without numbering them, but translates and annotates them thoroughly.

In the first section (§ 11) are testimonies from Athenaeus (64–70);<sup>11</sup> in the second (§ 12), there are several passages from Plutarch (70–81), which in modern editions are attributed to (historical and/or biographical) works and present Solon and Themistocles as protagonists.<sup>12</sup> The next section (§ 13) takes into account two testimonies of pseudo-Antigonius of Carystus (82–3) (they trace back to the *Θαυμάτων τῶν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατὰ τόπους ὄντων συναγωγή* of Callimachus).<sup>13</sup> More examination is then (§§ 14–7: 84–7) given to the testimony of

<sup>7</sup> Voisin (1824) 11.

<sup>8</sup> Voisin omits **41** and **54**; but he discusses **54** among the texts whose attribution to Phantias is doubtful: “Sed an tale quid Phantias Eresius in opere de Plantis scribere non potuerit, equidem nec statuerim, nec negaverim” (89).

<sup>9</sup> Voisin (1824) 44–64. These pages (neglected by those who dealt with the poet) can be useful for discussion of the oldest bibliography and for some learned notes.

<sup>10</sup> See *infra*, 163.

<sup>11</sup> **7**, **23** (only *en passant*) and **33**.

<sup>12</sup> Respectively, **26–7**, **29–32** and **34**.

<sup>13</sup> **39A–B** and **40** = Call. fr. 407 (XXVII–VIII and XLII) Pfeiffer.

Hesychius,<sup>14</sup> the scholia to Theocritus,<sup>15</sup> the *Suda* and the *Etymologicum Gudianum*,<sup>16</sup> Clement of Alexandria<sup>17</sup> and again Plutarch.<sup>18</sup>

The third chapter lists several homonyms (“De aliis ejusdem nominis viris a Phania Eresio diversis”: 88–91): Voisin points out a Phantias in the title of a lost oration of Lysias;<sup>19</sup> Phantias the Stoic, a disciple of Posidonius;<sup>20</sup> *Phantias physicus*, who was known by Pliny the Elder.<sup>21</sup> A Phantias was recipient of a letter (transmitted by Athenaeus) from a not specified King Antiochus that discusses the expulsion of the philosophers from his kingdom;<sup>22</sup> and there was a person of the same name who was a freedman of Appius Claudius Pulcher, who is quoted by Cicero.<sup>23</sup> As to the other homonyms that Fabricius identified in passages of Galen, they are excluded (rightly) by Voisin, because their name is based on erroneous interpretations or readings of the texts.<sup>24</sup>

In the “Addenda” (92–102), finally, Voisin discusses the writings of Phantias on logic in the light of two passages in Philoponus and Alexander of Aphrodisias that had previously escaped his investigation.<sup>25</sup>

The year after the publication of Voisin’s *Diatribae* were printed the *Dissertationes Siculae* of Johan Friedrich Ebert. Some pages of this volume are devoted to Phantias ‘Rerum tyrannicarum scriptor.’<sup>26</sup> Ebert does not collect the fragments of Phantias, but discusses his bibliographical data, with special attention to the spelling of his name (Ebert gives preference to Φανίας: 76–81), and lists and interprets the evidence

<sup>14</sup> **35.**

<sup>15</sup> **55.**

<sup>16</sup> **28A–B.**

<sup>17</sup> **24.**

<sup>18</sup> **56B.** Limited to the last part (from Ἰππυς δ’ ὁ Πηγῖνος).

<sup>19</sup> Lys. fr. 195 Carey (Athen. 12.551E): Πρὸς Κινησίαν <ὑπὲρ Φανίου παρὰ νόμων>.

<sup>20</sup> Diog. L. 7.41 (= Posid. t. 43 Ed.-K.).

<sup>21</sup> **54.** See *supra*, 149 n. 8.

<sup>22</sup> Athen. 12.547A. On the incident and the possible identification of the sovereign, see Haake (2007) 21 n. 31 and Muccioli (2010) 179–96.

<sup>23</sup> Cic., *Ad fam.* 2.13.2 and 3.1.2 (RE 2).

<sup>24</sup> Galenus cites Phantias the Peripatetic once (*infra*, 162). For other homonyms (some of them not considered by Voisin), see Müller (1848) 293 n.\* and *infra*, 162–4.

<sup>25</sup> **11** and **14.** It should be noted that Voisin (wrongly) attributes the text of Philoponus to Ammonius, on the basis of the *editio princeps* (1503) of this text. Cf. Gottschalk (1987) 246 n. 5 and Schneider (2012) 269.

<sup>26</sup> Ebert (1825) 76–90.



for the titles (Περὶ φυτῶν sive Φυτικά; Κατηγορίαι, καὶ περὶ ἐρμηνείας καὶ Ἀναλυτική; Πρὸς τοὺς Σοφιστάς; In Diodorum; Περὶ Σωκρατικῶν; Περὶ ποιητῶν; *Epigrammata*; Πρυτάνεις Ἐρέσιοι; Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας; Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων) with a brief discussion of the contents (82–90). Ebert also includes epigrams (85–6) among Phanias' writings.

## 2. The Phanias of Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum (FHG)*

C. Müller collected the fragments of Phanias in the second volume of *FHG*, together with those of other Peripatetic philosophers.<sup>27</sup>

The collection is preceded by a brief introduction where Müller discusses the life of Phanias, lists the known titles of his writings and presents the contents of the two historical works Περὶ πρυτανέων Ἐρεσείων and Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας.<sup>28</sup>

Müller's list of Phanias' works does not differ from that of Voisin (although it follows a different order). The most significant difference is that in his distribution of the fragments Müller presupposes the existence of another historical work of Phanias ("opus historicum cuius titulum nunc ignoramus"), from which stem the passages preserved by Plutarch concerning Themistocles and Solon.

Müller collects forty fragments arranged in this order: 1. Περὶ πρυτανέων Ἐρεσείων (fr. 1); <*sine numero*> "opus historicum cuius titulum nunc ignoramus" (fr. 2–11); 2. Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων (fr. 12–3); 3. Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας (fr. 14–6); 4. Περὶ ποιητῶν (fr. 17–8); 5. Πρὸς τοὺς Σοφιστάς (fr. 19); 6. Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν (fr. 20–1. Cf. 22–3); 7. Πρὸς Διόδωρον ('Philosophica', fr. 24); 8. Κατηγορίαι, καὶ περὶ ἐρμηνείας καὶ Ἀναλυτική (p. 293); 9. Περὶ φυτῶν (fr. 27–40).<sup>29</sup>

Fragments 1–23 are accompanied by a Latin translation at the bottom of the page and some comments on their contents or/and bibliographic data. The other texts are printed only in Greek: "reliquorum fragmentorum, quae ad historiam minus pertinent, verba graeca apposuisse habemus satis" (300).

<sup>27</sup> Müller (1848) 293–301.

<sup>28</sup> Müller (1848) 293.

<sup>29</sup> A concordance for Wehrli/Müller is in Wehrli (1969a) 195.

Some of Müller's choices and proposals are perplexing. Under the title *Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν*, Müller puts four fragments (fr. 20–3), of which only two are (rightly) considered by Wehrli and Engels (fr. 20–1, 30–1 W. = **36** and **37**) to be from this work; the third (fr. 22 in a longer form) is instead placed by Wehrli (but not by Engels) among those of the *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων* (fr. 12 W.).<sup>30</sup> Finally the fourth (fr. 23), where neither the name of Phantias nor the title of a work is preserved, is missing from Wehrli's collection. It is a passage from the entry "Archytas" in the *Suda*: Ἀρχύτας Ταραντῖνος ... φιλοσοφίαν ἐκπαιδεύων μαθητάς τ' ἐνδόξους ἔσχε καὶ βιβλία συνέγραψε πολλά. τοῦτον φανερώς γενέσθαι διδάσκαλον Ἐμπεδοκλέους.<sup>31</sup> Müller rejects Bernhardt's conjecture (in his edition of the *Suda* 1834), that in φανερώς there is hidden the name of Phantias of Eresus (φησι Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος), but from this and the previous fragment he draws the bold conclusion that the title of Phantias was *Περὶ φιλοσόφων*. *Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν*: "hinc [fr. 22] et e sequenti fragm. [fr. 23] colligo Phantiam non modo de Socraticis, sed de reliquis etiam philosophis egisse; nec improbable est librum *Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν* nonnisi partem majoris *De philosophis operis* fuisse" (300).<sup>32</sup> The decision of Müller to attribute fragments 29–40 of his collection to uncertain books of the *Περὶ φυτῶν*,<sup>33</sup> may be questionable, at least for the two fragments 38–9 (= 34–5 W.) and the two texts that make up fr. 40 (respectively, **35** and **57**).<sup>34</sup> The first two texts (taken from the *Mirabilia* of pseudo-Antigonius of Carystus, recovered from Callimachus), are ascribed by Wehrli to a work entitled "Mirabilien" (the need for which may raise doubts<sup>35</sup>), the third (**35**) is reported by Wehrli and Engels among the remains of the historical work that had among its protagonists Solon and Themistocles;<sup>36</sup> the fourth (**57**) is carefully placed by Wehrli under "Unsicheres" and likewise Engels (**57**).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Wehrli (1969) 31.

<sup>31</sup> *Suda* α 4121 (vol. 1.377.26, 30–2 Adler) = Arch. A 2 Huffman.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Engels (1998) 318.

<sup>33</sup> Respectively, **48–49**, **45**, **53**, **46–47**, **51**, **52A–B**, **55**, **39A/B–40**, **35** and **57**.

<sup>34</sup> As already Voisin (1824) 84.

<sup>35</sup> Notwithstanding the observations of Wehrli (1969) 39. See *infra*, 160–1.

<sup>36</sup> Wehrli (1969) 37 and Engels (1998) 342–3.

<sup>37</sup> Wehrli (1969) 43.



Finally, as to epigrams, Müller is skeptical (“epigrammata Phaniae, nescio cuius”, 301) as is Wehrli, for whom they are the work of a homonymous poet younger than our Peripatetic.<sup>38</sup>

### 3. The *Phainias von Eresos* of F. Wehrli

Wehrli’s publication of the fragments of Phantias is a decisive step in the history of studies on the Peripatetic philosopher. The first edition (1957) was replaced by the second “ergänzte und verbesserte Auflage” (1969).

Wehrli includes fragments (numbered consecutively), sometimes in sections, sometimes organized by grouping them under the title to which they are assigned by the sources. The collection has 51 fragments (but, in some cases, individual numbers are further subdivided, thanks to the letters of the alphabet). “Leben” (fr. 1–7 W. = **1–7**); “logische Schriften?” (fr. 8 W. = **11**); Πρὸς Διόδωρον (fr. 9 W. = **14**);<sup>39</sup> Πρὸς τοὺς Σοφιστάς (fr. 10 W. = **15**); Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων (fr. 11–13? W. = **16, 56A–B, 17**); Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας (fr. 14–16 W. = **18–20**); Πρωτάνεις Ἑρεσίων (fr. 17–19? W. = **22–24**). The section entitled “Historisches verschiedener Herkunft” (fr. 20–9 W. = **26–35**) includes the remains of several works with historical content, in which Solon and Themistocles figure prominently (fr. 20–8 W. = **26–34**). It is the most interesting portion of the collection, which had already attracted scholars’s attention several times before.<sup>40</sup> The assignment of some of these fragments to Phantias of Eresus is based on the (probable) correction of the ethnic Ἐφέσιος of the manuscripts to Ἑρέσιος (fr. 21, 22a–b W. = **27, 28A–B**).<sup>41</sup> Then come Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν (fr. 30–1 W. = **36–37**); Περὶ ποιητῶν (fr. 32–33? W. = **38, 25**); the “Mirabilien” (fr. 34–35 W. = **39 A–B, 40**); Περὶ φυτῶν or Φυτικά (fr. 36–50 W. = **41–55**: Φυτῶν ἱστορία?) and finally “Unsicheres” (fr. 51 W. = **57**).

As usual in a “Schule des Aristoteles” volume, the fragments are not translated, but they are accompanied by a brief commentary.

<sup>38</sup> Wehrli (1969) 43. See *infra*, 163.

<sup>39</sup> Voisin and Müller (293) had identified the remains of a work entitled Κατηγορίαι, καὶ περὶ ἐρμηνείας καὶ Ἀναλυτική, but see below, 158–9.

<sup>40</sup> Detailed analysis of these texts in the articles of Laqueur (1938) 1567–90, and Bodin (1915), (1917). I discussed fr. 29 W. = **35**, *supra*, 152.

<sup>41</sup> See *supra*, 148.

#### 4. The *Phainias of Eresus* of J. Engels

Neither the first nor the second edition of the Wehrli's *Phainias* are impeccable, and a new collection of fragments of the Peripatetic philosopher modeled on volumes of the "Schule des Aristoteles" now reissued by members of the "Project Theophrastus" team is an inescapable need. The collection with introduction, translation, and notes in English prepared by Johannes Engels has already contributed to closing this gap (at least in part).<sup>42</sup>

Since Engels prepared his first edition for the fourth part of the continuation of Jacoby's *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, which is devoted to biography and antiquarian literature,<sup>43</sup> it was obviously limited to publishing only the fragments of biographical and historical subjects and omitted, for example, the remains of the botanical work of Phainias (Περὶ φυτῶν or Φυτικά). Important, however, is the presence of a section on the biography of Phainias.

Following the structure chosen by Jacoby, the texts of Phainias are divided between *testimonia* (T) and fragments (F). The seven *testimonia* correspond to the first section of Wehrli's collection ("Leben") and retain the same sequence and numbering (T 1–7 FGrHist = **1–7**). The fragments (F 1–23 FGrHist = **16–35**) are those that can be traced back to named works: Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελία τυράννων (F 1–2? FGrHist = **16–17**); Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας (F 3–4, 5–6? FGrHist = **18–21**; **21** is missing in Wehrli); Πρυτάνεις Ἑρεσίων (F 7, 8–10? FGrHist = **22A, 23–25**); Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν (F 11–12 FGrHist = **36–37**); Περὶ ποιητῶν (F 13 FGrHist = **38**), "Fragments taken from other historical or biographical works" (F 14–23 FGrHist = **26–35**).

The structure of Engels' collection is uniform: the text (Greek or Latin) of the *testimonia* and fragments, accompanied by a critical apparatus, is printed on the left page; on the right page is given an English translation, followed by a rich and detailed commentary and a bibliography (editions and translations; secondary literature).

The translation is by far the most important innovation from Wehrli's collection. The choice of English renders for today's reader

<sup>42</sup> A new complete edition of the remains of Phainias, prepared by Engels, is now available at the beginning of this volume (1–99).

<sup>43</sup> For a presentation of the project and a review of the first two volumes, see Dorandi (2001).



the same service that Latin (Voisin and Müller) did for the readers of the nineteenth century.

In the *constitutio textus* of the fragments there is something to be corrected;<sup>44</sup> the commentary (290–343) on the contrary far exceeds that of Wehrli. Engels takes account of the whole literature and discusses with care and skill the many (especially historical) problems that the texts present. I would like to point out a proposal on the chronology of Phantias (290), whose ἀκμή the *Suda* (T 1 FGrHist = **1**) placed in the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (336–332 BC) and in the years of Alexander the Great's reign (336–323 BC). Engels considers untenable the proposal of Wehrli (27), which placed Phantias' date of birth between 376 and 373, and suggests, lowering it a few years, to around 365 or a little earlier in light of the fact that Phantias and Theophrastus attended the lectures of Aristotle at Mytilene (from 345/4 BC).

In the assignment of fragments on individually attested titles, Engels follows Wehrli, but shows more appropriate caution. Thus the F 2, 5–6, 12 FGrHist = **17, 20–21, 37** have a question mark. For F 2 FGrHist = **17**, Müller (followed by Wehrli, 31) had already suggested that it could stem either from Περὶ ποιητῶν or Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων (“haec etiam ad libros Περὶ ποιητῶν referre licet”: 298). Doubts related to F 12 FGrHist = **37** seem excessive. Diogenes Laertius quotes Phantias only twice: in one case (F 11 FGrHist = **36**) he testifies to Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν; the other has no specific title. The derivation of the second passage from the same source seems confirmed by the context in Diogenes: οὗτος (sc. Ἀρίστιππος) σοφιστεύσας, ὥς φησι Φανίας ὁ περιπατητικὸς ὁ Ἐρέσιος, πρῶτος τῶν Σωκρατικῶν μισθοὺς εἰσεπράξατο κτλ. I rather agree with Engels in criticizing Müller's hypothesis about the title and content of the work Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν: “Pace Müller it is not at all probable that *On the Socratics* was part of a larger hypothetical work with a more general scope entitled *On the Philosophers*” (318).

Among the innovations in Engels' collection compared to that of Wehrli, the exclusion of fr. 12 W. = **56 A–B** from those of the Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων merits attention. This is a passage of Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum* 422b–c, d–e, that Wehrli publishes in a longer form (perhaps too long) than Voisin (86–7) and Müller (fr. 22) had; they limited themselves to the final section of the passage, after

<sup>44</sup> I pointed out some inaccuracies in Dorandi (2001) 100.

Ἰππυς δ' ὁ Πηγῖνος. In making this choice, Engels partly agreed with his two predecessors, but without falling into the temptation of Müller, who had (wrongly) attributed it to Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν: “In Plutarch’s treatise there is no hint as to the work from which the passage has been taken” (318). The matter of the length of the fragment and its attribution to a particular work of Phaniias needs to be reconsidered.

F 6 FGrHist = **21** lacks in the edition of Wehrli. This is a passage (sadly incomplete) of the *History of the Academy* by the Epicurean Philodemus of Gadara (1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC), which had already been pointed out by Gottschalk, who remained hesitating as to its derivation from the work Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας (Gomperz and Mekler) or from Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν.<sup>45</sup> Engels opts (albeit with some doubt) for the work Τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας, and I think that the most likely choice. Where I disagree is instead in the decision of Engels to publish the text according to the (very hypothetical) reconstruction of Gaiser:<sup>46</sup> “Dorandi’s text is a model of philological and papyrological caution and correctness, but I shall make use of Gaiser’s valuable conjectures as well for a tentative reconstruction of the second part of the fragment” (305).<sup>47</sup> A renewed autopsy of the papyrus and multispectral photographs will perhaps allow us to progress in a reconstruction of the fragment.

Finally, Engels, referring to the research of Mosshammer, returns fr. 33 W. = F 10 FGrHist = **25** to Πρωτάνεις Ἐρεσίων.<sup>48</sup> Müller (299, fr. 18) and Wehrli (Wehrli doubtfully) had assigned it to *De poetis*.<sup>49</sup>

### 5. Some contributions to a new edition of the fragments by Phaniias

It only remains to register a few *Addenda et Corrigenda* to the works that I have just reviewed. I hope that they will be useful to the *futurus editor* of Phaniias’ fragments. A preface is necessary: this is not a systematic inquiry, but only the result of a series of notes from cursory readings during recent years and until now only recorded in

<sup>45</sup> Gottschalk (1973) 98–9.

<sup>46</sup> Gaiser (1988) 123–8, 222–5 (text and translation), 494–501 (commentary).

<sup>47</sup> As Bollansée (1999) 355 (Hermippus F 39). See Gottschalk (2001) 107.

<sup>48</sup> Engels (1998) 315 and Mosshammer (1979) 233.

<sup>49</sup> Wehrli (1969) 39.



the margins of my copies of Wehrli and Engels. I follow the numbering of the fragments in Wehrli's collection, but I register the correspondences with Engels' new edition.<sup>50</sup>

Fr. 2 W. = T 2 FGrHist = **2**

See now the edition of Radt (2004), which (rightly) maintains the manuscript reading Ἐρεσσοῦ instead of the correction Ἐρέσου of Meineke (in the edition of Strabo, 1852–3).

Fr. 3 W. = T 3 FGrHist = **3**

ἐπι<γραφόμεναι> is a (in my opinion unnecessary) conjecture proposed doubtfully (in the apparatus with 'fortasse') by Usener (1858/1912) 59 and not by O. Regenbogen. On the construction of this text and the following (fr. 4 = T 4 = **4**) see Dorandi (1998) 37–8 and (2008) 257 (with further bibliography).

Fr. 6 W. = T 6 FGrHist = **6**

The *Vita Marciana* of Aristotle is now available in the annotated editions of Düring (1957, 100, § 17 and 19) and Gigon (1962) 3, l. 79–83 and 90–3 (the last, without change and without the commentary is reprinted in the edition (1987) of Aristotle's fragments). A new collation of the *Marcianus* manuscript (Venice, *Marc. Gr.* 257, XIII/XIV c.), which I did for my forthcoming edition, confirms the text of the previous editors. The claim that Philip of Macedonia was persuaded by Phantias (and Theophrastus?) to give up his siege of Eresus, which is known only from this source, is judged not to be credible by Düring ("haec nulla fide digna" 100 *ad loc.* and 110).

Another biographical *testimonium* on Phantias occurs at the end of the *Vita Latina* of Aristotle (Düring § 46–8, 157) = **8**:

(46) et mortuus est in Calchide (sc. Aristotiles) dimittens testamentum scriptum quod fertur ab Andronico et Ptholomeo cum voluminibus suorum tractatum. (47) dimisit autem filium Nicomachum et filiam Pithaida, proprios autem discipulos Theofrastum, Phanium,

<sup>50</sup> I had already communicated these *Addenda et corrigenda* to Engels in order that he might take them into account in preparing the new edition of the fragments of Phantias published *supra*, 1–99.

Eudimium, Clitum, Aristoxenum et Dicearchum, (48) tractatus autem mille numero.

On the ground of this *testimonium*, Robbe (1861, 9) reconstructed a very incomplete passage of the *Vita Marciana* (square brackets [ ] mark a *lacuna*. Instead of them Gigon uses angle-brackets. Düring and already Rose present the text mostly without critical signs):

(44) [Ἐπὶ παισὶ μὲν Νικομάχῳ καὶ Πυθιάδῃ, γνησίοις δὲ μαθηταῖς] Θεοφράστῳ Φ[ανί]α [Εὐδῆμῳ Κλυτῷ Ἀριστοξένῳ Δικαιάρχῳ] (45) συντ[άγμασι] δὲ χ[ιλί]οις [τὸν ἀριθμόν].

The text of Robbe has been reproduced from Rose (1886, 435–6) and Düring (1957, 105–6, § 43–6), while Gigon (1962) 6, l. 191–7) is extremely conservative (Θεοφράστῳ Φ<ανί>α .....] συντ<άγμασι> δὲ χ<ιλί>οις <) and limits himself to discussing the reconstruction of Robbe in his commentary (77–8).

This text (at least in the version of the *Vita latina* for those unwilling to accept the reconstructed Greek text) must be added to the other biographical *testimonia* and it is useful to determine that Phantias was still alive at Aristotle's death (322 BC).

#### Fr. 8 W. = 11

The possibility that Phantias (like Theophrastus and Eudemus) had written a treatise entitled *Categories* has long been debated. It is denied, rightly I think, by Gottschalk (1987) 245–53, Bodéüs (2001) XXX–XXXIII and Barnes (2005) 22–3. Taking the opposite view: Frede (1987) 24–5 & 366–7 (notes). Cf. Huby (2007) 14–24 and Schneider (2012) 268–9 (not very clear on some details).

A testimony similar to that of Philoponus occurs in the anonymous commentary to Porphyry, *Isagoge.*, p. 1, 3 = 12 found in the Florence manuscript, Laur. 85.1 (XIII/XIV c.), f. 17 published by Rose (1863) 129 (cf. Theophr. FHS&G 687 no. 1a and in the app. to 71C). In the Florentine manuscript we read Κλεινίας, which Rose had already corrected to Φανίας, nor is there reason to doubt this slight amendment. Cf. Gottschalk (1987) 245–6, 248 and Huby (2007) 17.

A new fragment of a logical treatise was found by Gottschalk (1973) 98 in a scholium to Arist., *Int.* 7 17b14 = 13 in the Milan manuscript, Ambr. L 93 (Gr. 490 Martini-Bassi), f. 64<sup>v</sup> (X c.), which had already been published by Waitz (1844) 40 and Busse (1897)



xxxiii 34–7; the passage is now available in the new edition of the fragments of Theophrastus (84 FHS&G). “Phainias is here used as an example by Theophrastus, as Coriscus often was by Aristotle. This is slight evidence that Phainias attended Theophrastus’ lectures on logic, presumably at Athens” (Gottschalk). Cf. Bocheński (1947) 43–4, Fortenbaugh (1995) 161–76 = (2003, 22–34), Huby (2007) 42–4 and Schneider (2012) 268. On the Milan manuscript, see De Gregorio (1991) 479–92 (and plates VII, XII) and Rashed (2002) 693–717 (and plates I–IV). Lucà (1990) 68 n. 151 has shown that the manuscript was copied in Byzantium and not in southern Italy, as had at times been supposed.

Among the uncertain fragments on logical subject there could possibly be count a passage from the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias on Aristotle’s *Analytica Priora* (1.44 50a39. = CAG t. 2.1, p. 389.31–390.9 Wallies = Theophr. FHS&G 111E) = **58** if we follow the suggestion of Barnes (1985) 126 that in the sentence Θεόφραστος δ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις Ἀναλυτικοῖς μνημονεύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὐδήμος καὶ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ, the καὶ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ include Phantias or Strato. Cf. Huby (2007) 143.

Fr. 9 W. = **14**

See Döring (1998) 236–7, 352 (bibliography) and Muller (2012) 1258–60.

Fr. 16 W. = F 5 FGrHist = **20**

The text of Parthenius is now available in the edition, with translation and commentary, of Lightfoot (1999) 320–1 (text and translation), 407–12 (commentary). The text and translation are reproduced in Lightfoot (2009) 568–71. On the works of Parthenius, see also Francese (2001).

F 6 FGrHist (Missing by Wehrli) = **21**

See now Bollansée (2002) 32–48.

Fr. 20–29 W. = F 14–23 FGrHist = **26–35**

On fragments 20–21 W. = F 14–15 F GrHist = **26–27**, see Leão (2003–4) 51–62.

For the κύρβεις (fr. 22ab W. = F 16ab FGrHist = **28AB**), see Davies (2011) 1–35 and Buehler (1982) 110–2 on Zenobius 2.11.

Fr. 24 W. = F 18 FGrHist = **30** – Fernández Nieto (1994) 657–68.

Fr. 25 W. = F 19 FGrHist = **31** – Grünewald (2001) 1–23.

For the expression ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος, see Muccioli (2008) 461–80.

Fr. 27 W. = F 21 FGrHist = **33** – Ruberto (2006) 341–4 proposes to identify Artaxerxes with Artaxerxes II (405–359) and not with Artaxerxes I (465–424) as argued by Zecchini (1989) 5–13.

Fr. 30–31 W. = F 11–2 FGrHist = **36–37**

Among the authors of works *On the Socratics*, the Epicurean Idomeneus of Lampsacus must be included (fr. 24–28 Angeli). See Angeli (1981) 57–61, 68–70, 92–4.

Fr. 34–35 W. = **39AB–40**

Wehrli attributes these two fragments to a lost book of Phantias on *mirabilia*. The two passages are derived from Callimachus' Θαυμάτων εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατὰ τόπους ὄντων συναγωγή (fr. 407 Pf.) through pseudo-Antigonius of Carystus' Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή (I still think that this is a work wrongly attributed to the better known Antigonius of Carystus of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C. See Dorandi (2005) 121–4). I am unsure of the need to postulate the existence of *Mirabilia* of Phantias as I am for Clearchus. The two fragments may well result from some other work of Phantias. Therefore I propose to place them among the *incerta*. On the question, see Dorandi (2006) 167, and (2011) 13, and White's article in this volume 171–99.

With regard to the text, we can now use the edition of Musso (1985) 66 No. 155–6 (fr. 34 W. = **39AB**), 70–1 No. 171 (fr. 35 W. = **40**). Pfeiffer's edition of Callimachus is still essential, however, and that of the *Paradoxographi Graeci* by Giannini (1967), with a Latin translation, should not be forgotten.

Like Pfeiffer, Musso separates the text of fr. 34 W. = **39AB** into two parts. For fr. 35 W. = **40**, Musso prints:

Φανίαν δὲ κατὰ τινὰς τόπους τῆς Λέσβου καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἰνεανδριδων ἡ τὰς βώλους πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὄψεων παθήσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ χρησίμας. καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ ἐμβληθεῖσας οὔτε καταδύνειν οὔτε κατατήκεσθαι. ὑπὸ τοῦτο τὸ γένος πίπτει ἂν καὶ ἐ<ν> Πιτάνῃ πλίνθος ἢ λεγομένη ἐπιπλεῖ<ν>.

In particular, Musso places cruces on Νεανδριδων of the *codex unicus*, Heidelberg, Palat. gr. 398, mid-9th c., and in the apparatus writes



“Νεανδρέων malim.” On the Heidelberg codex, see Ronconi (2007) 33–75 and Stramaglia (2011) XII–XXIV.

Fr. 48 W. = 53

Neri (1998) 121–34 discusses some controversial points of this fragment (Athen. 9.406C) and proposes to edit and translate the text as follows:

πᾶσα γὰρ χεδροπώδες ἥμερος φύσις ἐνσπέρματος ἢ<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἐψησεως ἔνεκα σπείρεται {δὲ},<sup>2</sup> οἶον {ὁ}<sup>3</sup> κύαμος, πίσος (ἐτνηρὸν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἔψημα γίνεται)· τὰ δὲ πάλιν αὖθις λεκιθώδη, καθάπερ ἄρακος· τὸ δὲ φακῆς,<sup>4</sup> οἶον ἀφάκη, φακός· τὸ δὲ χόρτου ἔνεκα τῶν τεραπόδων ζώων, οἶον ὄροβος μὲν ἀροτήρων βοῶν, ἀφάκη δὲ προβάτων.

<sup>1</sup> ἢ A: ἢ edd. ἐνσπέρματος. ἢ Olson <sup>2</sup> δὲ A: *secl. Musurus, nisi aliqua interciderunt* (ex. gr. σπείρεται <ἵνα ὁλόκληρος ἔψηται μὲν οἶον ἐρέβινθος (, θέρμος) ἢ εἰς ἔτνος σκευάζεται> δὲ οἶον) <sup>3</sup> ὁ A: *secl. Wilamowitz* <sup>4</sup> φακῆς *sc. ἔνεκα* ἀφάκη del. Olson

Ogni sostanza leguminosa coltivata, infatti, ricca di semi, viene seminata in parte per bollitura, come per esempio la fava, il pisello: poltiglioso, infatti, è il bollito che ne risulta; altre ancora, di nuovo, in quanto ingredienti del puré di legumi, come per l'appunto la cicerchia selvatica; in parte, per la zuppa di lenticchie, come l'afaca, la lenticchia; in parte per il mangime dei quadrupedi, come la veccia—da un lato—per i buoi aratori, l'afaca—dall'altro—per le greggi.

(Every domesticated leguminous plant, in fact, rich in seeds, is sown partly for cooking, as for example beans and peas: their boiled mixture, in fact, becomes a soup; others, once again, are for gruel, like the wild chickling; others for lentil-soup, such as tare, the lentil; others to provide forage for four-legged animals, like vetch, on one hand, for plow-oxen and tare, on the other hand, for sheep.)

Fr. 50 W. = 55

According to Valente (2005) 284, there are no compelling reasons, *pace* Wendel, to correct the name Φανίας, which is transmitted unanimously by the manuscripts (but already suspected by Wilamowitz), to Ἀμερίας (the glossographer Amerias of Macedonia, who probably lived in the third cent. BC).

*Testimonium novum* = 10

New evidence for a unspecified work of Phantias comes from Galen's *De indolentia* (Boudon & Jouanna 2010, 6, and 61–2; Κοτζιά-Σωτηρούδης 2010, 69, 84 and 107–9; Garofalo-Lami 2012, 15). Galen had a copy of this book in his library. This is the text of the new *testimonium* (as published by Boudon-Jouanna & Κοτζιά-Σωτηρούδης):

Gal., *Ind.* 15

τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ Θεοφράστου καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Εὐδήμου καὶ Κλειτ<ομάχ>ου καὶ Φαινίου βιβλία καὶ Χρυσι<π>ου τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἰατρῶν πάντων.

Galen, after having discussed his 'editorial' method, gives some examples of texts by authors he prepared for his own use. Cf. Dorandi (2010) 167–9. The succession Theophrastus, Aristotle, Eudemus could suggest that Phantias' work was on 'logical' content (cf. Κοτζιά-Σωτηρούδης (2010) 109). This is only one hypothesis and the possibility cannot be ruled out that Galen possessed a copy of *Περὶ φυτῶν* instead.

The reconstruction of the name "Clitomachus", which is suggested by Jouanna and independently by Κοτζιά-Σωτηρούδης (2010) 69 (see also the comment: 107–9), has been called into question, with good arguments, by Rashed (2011) 57–8, who suggests reading Κλύτου and identifying Clitus with the homonymous Peripatetic of Miletus (about which, see García González (1994) 446–8). The article by Rashed makes a substantial contribution to the reconstruction and interpretation of §§ 15–18 of the *De indolentia* of Galen and lets us probe some aspects of the Aristotelianism of the physician of Pergamum.

## 6. Some homonyms

Among the merits of Voisin's book was the attempt to list the homonymous Phantias of which we have knowledge from ancient authors. His research is now outdated and inadequate, nor could it be otherwise. Some homonyms were recorded in the *Realencyclopädie* (19.2 (1938) 1774–5, s.v. Phantias) and an additional Phantias is now reported Goulet's *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques*. In what follows, I propose to present, for my part, a list of men of letters with the same name as the Peripatetic from Eresus.



*Phantias epigrammaticus*

I begin with Phantias the epigrammatic poet. *The Greek Anthology* preserves, under the name of a certain Phantias, eight epigrams written in a language filled with glosses and impregnated with doricisms (AP 6.294, 295, 297, 299, 304, 307; 7.537 and 12.31): the first four are votive epigrams appropriately placed in book 6 of the *Palatine Anthology*, and the next two are dedicatory epigrams (which should have been in the book 9), the penultimate is a funerary epigram for a certain Mantitheus, son of Lysis, and the last is a homoerotic epigram.<sup>51</sup> In the lemma of one epigram (AP 7.537), Phantias is called γραμματικός (but the attribution of the poem to Phantias is not confirmed by the *Planudean Anthology*, where the lemma has only the name Theophanes, i.e. Θεοφάνους, without the adjective γραμματικός<sup>52</sup>). The chronology of this poet (whose identity with the Peripatetic has not been revived after Voisin and Ebert) remains uncertain. The *terminus post quem* is his presence, at the last position, among the poets of the *Crown of Meleager* (2nd/1st c. BC), where is compared to the cornflower (AP 4.1,54: ... κυάνων τ' ἄνθεα Φανίεω). The reference in AP 6.307,5 to an Epicurean constitutes a *terminus post quem* definitely later than Phantias the Peripatetic. More uncertain inferences can be drawn from the noun δρύπτα in AP 6.299,4, which has a Latin origin and refers to the olive according to Pliny the Elder and Athenaeus: “if it is true one would be inclined to credit Phantias with a knowledge of Latin implying at least some length of residence in Italy, and with a *floruit* perhaps as late as is consistent with his presence in Meleager’s team.”<sup>53</sup> It is also clear that Phantias imitate Leonidas of Tarentum (4th–3rd c. BC). Closer study of his poetry has been done by Gow, who discusses the few data on Phantias’ biography and focuses on the text and the interpretation of AP 6.294, 295, & 307.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> The last edition is that of Page (1975) 3886–941. Page orders the epigrams by placing AP 12.31 first and having AP 6.294, 295, 297, 299, 304, 307; 7.537 follow. The epigrams are numbered from I to VIII as in Gow-Page (1965) 1.161–4 (v. 2966–3021).

<sup>52</sup> Gow (1956) 231 n. 4.

<sup>53</sup> Gow (1956) 231.

<sup>54</sup> Gow (1956) 231–6, but we have to take into account that of Gow-Page (1965) 1.161–4 (text and translation) and 2.464–75 (commentary). On AP 6.294, see Barigazzi (1954) 115–7; on AP 6.295 and the other epigrams from the *Anthologia Palatina* that

*Phanias Stoicus*

Diogenes Laertius (7.41) also knows a Phanias who was a Stoic disciple of Posidonius (Posid. t. 43. Ed.-K.) and author of Ποσειδώνιαιοι σχολαί in at least two books (Diogenes cites the first book). His chronology can be placed in the second half of the first century BC.<sup>55</sup>

*Phanias Milesius Platonicus*

The holder of a chair of philosophy (διάδοχος). He erected a herm of Plato in the sanctuary of Didyma (*Didyma* 2,150). Puech suggests identifying him with the homonymous prophet who is known in the same sanctuary for a dedication to Zeus Kataibates (*Didyma* 2.127). Its chronology can be set in the 2nd century BC.<sup>56</sup>

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describe *instrumenta scriptoria* (AP 6.62–8), Turner (1987) 5 n. 10. Little can be drawn from Peek (1938) 1774.

<sup>55</sup> Goulet (2012a) 274. The readings of the codices recorded by Goulet must be corrected as follows: φανίας BP: φάννίας F ( φ F<sup>2s.l.</sup> ): Φαινίας Long.

<sup>56</sup> Puech (2012) 274.



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## 5

### Phaenias in the *Mirabilia* Tradition: From “Antigonus” to Callimachus

*Stephen White*

Phaenias is cited by name for two isolated reports about peculiar geophysical phenomena: one about a marshy lake that burns when it dries up (**39A**: 34 W), and another about some kind of earthy substance that has medicinal and buoyant properties (**40**: 35 W). Both reports appear in a work preserved in a single manuscript under the heading Ἀντιγόνου Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή. This *Collection* of “amazing stories” or “marvelous tales”, as the title is widely construed—though “puzzling reports” is probably more accurate—is traditionally ascribed to the early Hellenistic biographer from Carystus active in the mid-third century whose lives of some contemporary philosophers were later exploited by Philodemus and Diogenes Laertius.<sup>1</sup> There are good reasons to doubt that ascription, and the origin of the whole *Collection* remains obscure. More to the point here, both citations of Phaenias appear within a section of the *Collection* explicitly ascribed to “Callimachus of Cyrene” (*Coll.* 129), the learned poet whose scholarly endeavors had wide and lasting influence, and whose *Collection of Marvels Worldwide by Locations* (so entitled in

<sup>1</sup> See Dorandi (1999) and (2005) for the question of authorship; Musso (1985) for the text and a full apparatus of parallel testimony.

his *Suda* entry, κ 227: test. 1) is widely credited—or blamed—for inaugurating a peculiar genre dubbed paradoxography in modern scholarship.<sup>2</sup> How and why these two reports from Phaenias found their way into his work, then into the Antigonius *Collection*, and how they survived therein to appear in its *editio princeps* by Xylander (1568) two millennia later is largely a mystery. But parts of this tortuous tale can now be reliably reconstructed, and although much remains inscrutable, the results shed fresh light on both our access to Phaenias and the reception of early Aristotelian natural science more broadly.

The key to dissolving some of the mystery is retracing the path of our Phaenias texts from the sole manuscript in which they survive back across a thousand-year gap to the bibliographical labors of Callimachus in the third century BCE. Natural but misleading assumptions about the nature and origin of the *Collection* in which these Phaenias excerpts are preserved have long encouraged dismissive assessments of its contents and his work along with it; embedded in an album of ancient “wonders” or “marvels” (θαυμάσια, *mirabilia*, *Mirabilien*, *histoires*, etc.), his reports have suffered by association.<sup>3</sup> But as Flashar (1972) has shown in his meticulous analysis of the similar pseudo-Aristotelian collection known by the title *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* (Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, or παραδόξων ἀκουσμάτων in some manuscripts), much of this material has a solid pedigree in reputable historiography and natural history from the fourth and early third centuries, notably including extensive material from the early Peripatos. For the *Collection* in turn, recent advances in our knowledge of the sole manuscript preserving the text—both the circumstances of its production and the history of its contents—make it possible to assess the *Collection* more fairly in its own right. Correspondingly, closer attention to the text itself, both its overall structure and details of form and format, affords new insight into its lineage, and therewith the provenance of our Phaenias texts. A reassessment of

<sup>2</sup> So Ziegler (1949), Giannini (1964); cf. Schepens (1996) for a critical overview.

<sup>3</sup> Wehrli (1957) 39 suggests that the reports come from a jointly assembled school collection like the pseudo-Aristotelian *Mirabilia*. But then Callimachus had to draw on that work in compiling his own work, and as we shall see, he was fastidious in naming the authorities from whom he drew his material, as collective works typically do not; witness the Aristotelian *Problemata*, and the *Mirabilia* too, though its origins may be rather later, both of which are devoid of citations.



multiple levels of context—the *Collection* within its codex, the extracts from Callimachus within the *Collection*, and finally our two fragments within Callimachus’ “selection” (so called in *Coll.* 129)—thus indicates some of what can be gained by correlating transmission and context in the analysis of material found in compilations.

### 1. Codex, Collection, and Selection

Our story starts in Constantinople, where the only surviving manuscript of the *Collection*, Heidelberg codex *Palatinus graecus* 398, was produced in the third quarter of the ninth century (850–880 CE) along with at least sixteen others that form a so-called “philosophical corpus” transcribed by a team of learned Byzantine scholars.<sup>4</sup> *Palatinus* 398 stands out for its nearly total lack of philosophical content. The rest of the corpus contains works of Plato and Platonists (Alcinous, Damascius, Olympiodorus, Proclus), Aristotle and his commentators (Alexander, Ammonius, Philoponus, Simplicius, Theophrastus), a few lesser figures (ps.-Dionysius, Maximus of Tyre, Theodoretus, Zacharias), and astronomical texts (Ptolemy, the astrologers Manetho and Maximus). *Palatinus* 398, by contrast, contains a veritable miscellany of more mundane lore, ranging from relatively sober geographical tracts and collections of natural history to epistolary fictions and summaries of exotic myth and legend.

The diverse contents of the codex reflect its compilation from multiple exemplars. The codex consists of 321 parchment folia in 42 numbered quires (originally c. 390 in 48: the first five quires are lost and their contents supplied from an apograph; another, the first in section 5, is also lost without trace) that form six distinct sections (distinguished by quires and script) containing 20 distinct works (originally 24) in four thematic groups, as shown in Table 1.<sup>5</sup> The first two

<sup>4</sup> The “corpus” was first identified by Allen (1893); see Cavallo (2007) for a recent synopsis. For the date, see Diller (1952) 4–5, rejecting the once prevalent view that our codex was produced under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the mid-tenth century; its origins rather lie near Photius, cf. Marcotte (2000) xcvi–vii.

<sup>5</sup> See Diller (1952) 3–10, Marcotte (2000) lxxxviii–c, Ronconi (2007) 33–75, Stramaglia (2011) xii–xxiv. Quires 1–5 were detached and lost between 1300 and 1435: after their contents were copied around 1300 as *Vatopedinus* 655 (28 of its folia, removed before 1853, are now *Londinensis* add. 19,391 and *Parisinus* gr. suppl. 443A) but before the rest of the codex left Constantinople c. 1435; see Marcotte (2000) xcvi–cvii. Quire 33 was lost before the apograph was produced.

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sections, occupying about half the total (24 quires originally), contain a series of six short geographical works (originally ten: the first four are preserved in the apograph) followed by a “Chrestomathy from Strabo’s *Geographica*” (original quires 1–12 and 13–24).

Section	Quires	Folia	Author, Title (manuscript pages)
1	<1–5>	<c. 80>	1. Epitome of <i>Outline of Geography</i>
			2. Agathemerus, <i>Outline of Geography</i>
			3. <i>Positions and Names of Winds</i> , from [Aristotle], <i>On Signs</i>
			4. Dionysius of Byzantium, <i>Voyage up the Bosphorus</i>
	6–12	11–59	5. [Arrian], <i>Voyage round the Euxine</i> (12 pages)
			6. Arrian, <i>Cynegeticus</i> (27 pages)
			7. Arrian, <i>Voyage round the Euxine</i> (20 pages)
			8. [Arrian], <i>Voyage round the Red Sea</i> (19 pages)
			9. [Hanno], <i>Voyage round</i> [sc. the Maghreb] (3 pages)
			10. Philo of Byzantium, <i>On the Seven Spectacles</i> (7 pages)
2	13–24	60–156	11. <i>Chrestomathy</i> from Strabo’s <i>Geographica</i> (193 pages)
3	25–31	157–208	12. [Plutarch], <i>On Names of Rivers and Mountains</i> (33 pages)
			13. Parthenius of Nicea, <i>On Erotic Afflictions</i> (31 pages)
			14. Antoninus Liberalis, <i>Collection of Metamorphoses</i> (40 pages)
			15. Hesychius Illustrius, <i>Origins of Constantinople</i> (13 pages)
5	[33]–39	216–61	16a. Phlegon of Tralles, <i>On Marvelous and Long-lived</i> (38 pages)
			16b. Phlegon, <i>On Olympiads</i> (4 pages)
			17. Apollonius, <i>Marvelous Reports</i> (14 pages)
			18. Antigonus, <i>Collection of Puzzling Reports</i> (37 pages)
			19. [Hippocrates of Cos], <i>Letters</i> (41 pages)
6	40–48	262–331	20. [Themistocles], <i>Letters</i> (39 pages)
			21. [Diogenes], <i>Letters</i> (43 pages)
			22. [Mithridates], <i>Collection of Letters of Brutus</i> (2 pages)
			23. [Brutus], <i>Letters</i> (17 pages)

Table 1. Original contents of *Palatinus graecus* 398.



Next come three short mythographical works and a synopsis of foundation legends for Constantinople (quires 25–31 and 32); then four more short works, including three collections of *mirabilia* or “marvels” (quires 33–39, comprising folia 216–61); and finally four sets of pseudepigraphic letters ascribed to Hippocrates, Themistocles, Diogenes, and Brutus (quires 40–48).

*Palatinus* 398 is the sole independent witness to most of these works, including all three collections of *mirabilia*.<sup>6</sup> The *Collection* ascribed to Antigonius is the last in its section (fol. 243v–261), and it has lost its last two leaves, which explains why our text ends abruptly mid-word. Preceding it are two similar collections of brief reports. First comes a series of excerpts from “*On Marvelous* [sc. people] and *Long-lived* [sc. people]” (Περὶ θαυμασίων καὶ μακροβίων) and *On Olympia*<math>d>s</math> (Περὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπι<math>\alpha\delta>\omega\nu</math>) ascribed to “Phlegon of Tralles, freedman of Hadrian” (fol. 216–236r);<sup>7</sup> the entire sequence from both works is copied continuously without intervening page-breaks as found between every other independently titled work in the codex. Then comes a set of *Marvelous Tales*—or rather *Marvelous Reports* (Ἱστορίαι θαυμάσιαι), almost all drawn from works in natural history and largely from Aristotle and Theophrastus (28 of its 51 reports explicitly so attributed)—ascribed to an Apollonius (fol. 236v–243r). Unlike Phlegon, neither Apollonius nor Antigonius is identified further in the codex. Conversely, and again unlike Phlegon, each of the collections presented under their names cites authorities for the vast majority of its reports: all but nine of the 51 from Apollonius, and a similar proportion in the *Collection* (all but 31 of 173 entries).

The extant portion of the *Collection* is presented in the codex as a series of 189 entries, all numbered consecutively and written continuously—or 173 entries in the standard numeration used in modern editions, which combines some successive entries. The text originally included additional entries, probably enough to fill at least the greater part of the two folia now missing from the end of the work, which would increase its overall length by as much as 11%, or another 15–20

<sup>6</sup> Only section 2 (the *Chrestomathy*) and four of the epistolary collections in the last section (nos. 19 and 21–3) survive elsewhere independently.

<sup>7</sup> More precisely, the first to “Phlegon of Tralles, freedman of Caesar” and the second to “Phlegon, freedman of Hadrian Caesar.” The *Suda* entry on Phlegon (φ 527) lists variant titles for both works.

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entries of typical length. Throughout, successive entries and reports are regularly linked by connectives, so that occasional asyndeton indicates interpolation or editorial intervention of some sort. The contents form four main thematic sections or parts as outlined in Table 2.<sup>8</sup>

Part	Entries	Topic	Attributions
1	1–26	animals	Various: six historians, Aristotle (mostly frs.), anonymous
2A	27–60	animals	<i>Coll.</i> 26: “Aristotle’s collection” (sc. <i>HA</i> 9)
2B	61–115	animals	<i>Coll.</i> 60: his “more exegetical” books (mainly <i>HA</i> 1–8) 61–91 from <i>HA</i> 1–5, 92–115 from <i>HA</i> 6–9
3	116–28	places	Various: five or six historians and Eudoxus
4A	129–65	water	<i>Coll.</i> 129: Callimachus’ “selection,” citing various authorities
4B	166–73	various	Same, citing various authorities

Table 2. Contents of Antigonius, *Collection*.

Part 1 comprises 26 entries (32 in the numbering of the codex), all dealing with biological phenomena (mostly behavioral), and all except the last item focus on animals. Only the first entry has no initial connective, presumably because it originally stood first in either this or some other independent work. Fewer than half of the entries cite authorities, the first three cases along with titles and the rest only by name: Aristotle five times (*Coll.* 16, 19, 20, 22, 25),<sup>9</sup> Myrsilus and Theopompus twice each (*Coll.* 5, 15; 14, 15), and four other historians once each (Amelesagoras in 12, Ctesias 15, Herodotus 21, Timaeus 1), along with seven verse quotations from five or six poets (Alcman, Archelaus, Philetas twice, the *Odyssey*, Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, and one not identified). As a result, most of Part 1 is presented in direct discourse: not only all of the unattributed reports, which form the majority here, but also every mention of an authority or poet within the other reports, where only the substance of their reports (all but one only briefly summarized) appear in indirect discourse.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The division into sections is both bibliographic (by sources) and topical or thematic; cf. Köpke (1862) 7–9, Wilamowitz (1881) 18–23, Ziegler (1949) 1146–9, Giannini (1964) 114–16, Jacob (1983) 124–5, Schepens (1996) 396.

<sup>9</sup> Only one of these citations can be traced to Aristotle’s extant work: *Coll.* 21 to *HA* 3.20. The rest are standardly counted as fragments: *Coll.* 16, 19, and 20 as frs. 605, 367, and 370, and 25 as fr. 371 R<sup>3</sup> (cf. the pseudepigraphic *Mirabilia* 30 832b7–16).

<sup>10</sup> Indirect discourse occupies barely a quarter of Part 1: some 57 of its 214 lines in Musso (1985). For analysis of Parts 1 and 2, see Jacob (1983) 126–38, working on the premise that the entire collection was compiled by Antigonius of Carystus.



Part 2 consists of two long series of zoological material drawn from Aristotle, as introductory comments for each half announce (*Coll.* 26, 60). Every entry reports, in more or less faithful paraphrase and entirely in indirect discourse, material drawn from Aristotle's *HA*: the first 34 entries (27–60 = cod. 33–66) in Book 9, mostly following its sequence; then another 55 entries (61–115 = cod. 67–127) from successive books spanning the entire work, again mostly following its sequence.<sup>11</sup> After the initial mention of Aristotle in *Coll.* 26, there is almost no further reference to authorities: only four times, all in interpolated parallels cited in direct discourse (Callimachus in 45, Lycus 60, Archelaos 89, Aeschylus 115), and in each case Aristotle is immediately cited again by name to reassert his status as the primary source in Part 2.

Part 3 comprises thirteen entries (*Coll.* 116–28 = cod. 128–43) in two thematic clusters: eight localized geographic items (116–19 human, 120–3 other) and another five (124–8) on periodic phenomena, not all localized. Most in the first cluster cite authorities, four by name (Eudoxus 123, Hippys 121, Myrsilus 117–18, Theopompus 119) and two by description (Ctesias 116, Duris 120). Only one in the second cluster names an authority (Hellanicus 126), though another exceptionally cites local residents collectively (“the Delphians” 127). In format, the reports resemble Part 1, introducing all unattributed reports and attributions in direct discourse and reserving indirect discourse for the content of its reports.

Part 4, the remainder of the *Collection* as we have it, is drawn, as another introductory comment notes, from “a selection the Cyrenean Callimachus had produced” (*Coll.* 129). As this opening citation proceeds to indicate, the *Collection* records only portions of the original “selection” of excerpts Callimachus is said to have produced.

<sup>11</sup> Most of the few cases that diverge from the order in *HA* reflect a different sequence of books: entries 61–91 from Books 1–5 in succession, then 92–6 from Book 8, 97–106 from Book 6, 106–9 from Book 9, and finally 110–13 from the extraneous Book 7 on humans, with related addenda in 114–15 from Books 1 and 6. There are also occasional interpolations from other sources; e.g. a datum from Theophrastus, *On Stones* 60 inserted in *Coll.* 84. Only one entry is wholly extraneous: the sequence from *HA* 5 is interrupted by a related report about spontaneous generation in corpses illustrated by an epigram from Archelaus (*Coll.* 89), all in direct discourse that plainly marks it as an interpolation.

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129. Πεποίηται δέ τινα καὶ ὁ Κυρηναῖος Καλλίμαχος ἐκλογὴν τῶν παραδόξων ἧς ἀναγράφομεν ὅσα ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ἀκοῆς ἄξια.

So too the Cyrenean Callimachus had a selection of puzzling [sc. reports or phenomena] produced from which we are transcribing as many as we at some point found worth reading.

As Table 3 shows, most of the entries in Part 4 (*Coll.* 129–65 = cod. 144–81) concern water phenomena, organized in discrete sections covering seas (129–32), rivers (133–36), springs (137–49), lakes (150–57), and finally water itself (158–65). What now looks like an appendix of eight more entries (166–73 = cod. 182–9) covers four very different topics, each marked by a transitional formula using initial *περί* with a genitive: first “on fire” (166: *Περὶ δὲ πυρὸς Κτησίαν φησὶν* [sc. Callimachus] *ἱστορεῖν...*), then “on stones” (168), “on plants” (169), and “on animals” (172). The final entry ends mid-sentence because, as previously noted, the following two folia are missing from the codex, so we can no longer tell either how many more reports followed, or what if any other topics they covered.

Part	Items	Topic	Attributions
4A	129–65	Water	Various authorities, some unattributed
	129–32	marine	Eudoxus, Megasthenes, Theophrastus
	133–6	rivers	Lycus, Polycritus, Timaeus
	137–49	springs	Amometus, Aristotle, Ctesias, Eudoxus, Lycus, Theopompus
	150–7	lakes	Ctesias, Eudoxus, Heraclides, Lycus, Nicagoras, Phaenias, Xenophilus
	158–65	waters	Ctesias, Eudoxus, Lycus, Theopompus
4B	166–73	Various	Various authorities, one unattributed
	166–7	fire	Ctesias
	168	stones	(unattributed)
	169–71	plants	Aristotle, Phaenias, Theophrastus
	172–3	animals	Lycus, Theopompus
	<174–?>	??	??

Table 3. Contents of Part 4, from Callimachus’ *Selection* (fr. 409 Pfeiffer)

Part 4 thus differs significantly from the rest of the *Collection* on two counts, one thematic and one formal. The excerpts from Callimachus focus almost entirely on water, and apart from the last two entries (and possibly more that originally followed them), it makes



only sporadic and entirely tangential reference to animals, which are the dominant or exclusive focus of the rest of the work in all three other Parts. Second, whereas every other part regularly cites authorities in direct discourse—for example, “Timaeus says that...” in the first entry in Part 1 (*Coll.* 1)—Part 4 cites its authorities in ways that continually signal an intermediary, presumably Callimachus: “he says that so-and-so says, or reports”—where “he” refers to Callimachus and “so-and-so” names the authority he reportedly cited. In short, Part 4 presents not only its reports but also their authorities within indirect discourse. Compare typical citations in Part 1 (likewise Part 3) and Part 4:

5. Ὁ δὲ Μυρσίλος ὁ τὰ Λεσβιακὰ συγγεγραφὼς φησὶν τῆς Ἀντισσαίας, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ μυθολογεῖται καὶ δείκνυται δὲ ὁ τάφος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τῆς τοῦ Ὀρφέως κεφαλῆς, τὰς ἀηδόνας εἶναι εὐφωνοτέρας τῶν ἄλλων.

Myrsilus, the author of the *Lesbiaca*, says that at Antissa, on the site where the locals situate the story and also show the tomb for the head of Orpheus, the nightingales are more mellifluous than the rest.

129. Φησὶν Εὐδόξον ἱστορεῖν ὅτι ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἱερὸν ὄρος θαλάττῃ τῆς Θράκης ἐπιπολάζει κατὰ τινὰς χρόνους ἄσφαλτος, ἣ δὲ κατὰ Χελιδονίας ὅτι ἐπὶ πολὺν τόπον ἔχει γλυκείας πηγὰς.

He [sc. Callimachus] says that Eudoxus reports that in the sea below Sacred Mountain in Thrace sometimes asphalt rises to the surface, and that the sea below Chelidonia for a long ways has fresh springs.

Thanks to its pervasive citation of named authorities, the *Collection* presents most of its reports in indirect discourse. But the hand of one or more compilers is readily evident, sometimes in first-person remarks (most notably at the “sutures” between the four parts) but continually in the way the text cites authorities and paraphrases extant originals. Since it remains unclear whether all of these interventions originate with one hand or more, it is safest to refer them collectively to a “Compiler”—allowing that further analysis might succeed in showing that different sections stem from different hands, or even different passages within the same section. In Part 1, the Compiler speaks continually in his own voice: every entry is presented in direct discourse, with indirect discourse appearing only when dependent on another authority. The same holds for Part 3, with only two

exceptions, each readily explicable.<sup>12</sup> But the two other parts follow the converse practice: apart from the initial attributions to Aristotle in Part 2 and Callimachus in Part 4, and occasional interventions thereafter, the entries in these two Parts are presented entirely in indirect discourse: in Parts 2A and 2B, we are told what Aristotle's writings say (all *HA*); in Part 4A and apparently 4B as well, what Callimachus in his "selection" said various other authorities say.

A few more words about the Compiler. It has long been widely accepted that there was only one, that his name was Antigonos, and that he was the biographer from Carystus active in the latter third century. But Musso, the most recent editor of the *Collection*, has argued forcefully that the attribution is mistaken, proposing instead that the work found in the codex is a tenth-century Byzantine compilation produced under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.<sup>13</sup> Further study of the codex by Ronconi has established that it is roughly a century older (850–880, as noted above). But Dorandi has reinforced Musso's case against attributing the *Collection* to the biographer all the same.<sup>14</sup> Two points are telling. First, the main basis for the traditional attribution—apart from the title in the codex, which may itself have no other basis—is an entry in the *Lexicon* of Hesychius that glosses ἰλῆοι as a type of worm, then cites "Antigonos of Carystus in *On Animals*" for use of the same word for a type of rodent (ι 561; cf. ε 1977: Antig. fr. 50A–B in Dorandi 1999). But neither the word nor either of its glosses appears anywhere in the *Collection*, at least as we have it; Hesychius therefore provides no grounds for connecting it with any work by Antigonos of Carystus. Moreover, since much of its contents have nothing to do with animals—much of Part 3 and nearly all of Part 4—the title attested for Antigonos of Carystus, while a reasonable one for Parts 1 and 2, would be singularly inept for the *Collection* as a whole. Or rather, since Part 2 is drawn almost entirely from Aristotle's *HA*, and explicitly so attributed, the title fits only Part 1 comfortably. On the basis of Hesychius' single citation, then, all we might plausibly infer is that the *Collection* contains excerpts from Antigonos' work *On*

<sup>12</sup> One serves to indicate that the entry comes from the same authority as the preceding one (*Coll.* 117–18: Myrsilus frs. 6 and 16); the other is an addendum drawn from *HA* or *PA* (*Coll.* 124b).

<sup>13</sup> Musso (1976); cf. Köpke (1862) 5–16 arguing for multiple compilers, and Gianini (1964) 112–16 rejecting the traditional ascription to Antigonos of Carystus.

<sup>14</sup> Ronconi (2007); Dorandi (2005).



*Animals*, and at most only some or all of Part 1, where the citations are also compatible (in date, range, and format) with such an attribution. On the other hand, any such connection remains entirely conjectural.

The argument can be pressed further. Traditional attribution of the *Collection* to Antigonos also rests on four other citations of the same name in connection with four reports about animals found in it; and although none of these cites any title, one identifies its authority as “the Carystian” (Stephanus Byz. s.v. Gyaros; cf. *Coll.* 18: Antig. fr. 51A–B). Three of these citations, including the one specifying Carystus, appear in the series about animals in Part 1 (*Coll.* 10, 18, 23). But the fourth appears in the second half of Part 3 (*Coll.* 126), where animals figure only incidentally, alongside other items responsive to time or weather; and the wording indicates that it was added by a Compiler.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, all four citations occur in texts from late antique Byzantium: two in John the Lydian, and one each in Stephanus of Byzantium and Aristophanes scholia. In short, the earliest attested attribution to Antigonos is early sixth-century. Now Marcotte has argued forcefully that the works copied in our *Palatinus* codex were preserved in Platonist collections attested around the same time.<sup>16</sup> The likely explanation, then, for the four six-century citations of Antigonos as the source of material found in the *Collection* is simply each author’s direct acquaintance with the composite *Collection*; and the further specification of Carystus as his toponym in Stephanus is unlikely to be more than a conjecture, perhaps reflecting his own geographical preoccupations. So again, the most we can safely say is that the *Collection* circulated, in the composite form found in *Palatinus* 398, early in the sixth century under the name of an otherwise unidentified Antigonos. In fact, as Dorandi aptly observes, the accuracy of that

<sup>15</sup> *Coll.* 126, following a format typical of interpolations throughout the work, first presents what Hellanicus “reports” (ἱστορεῖ) about winds at the new moon, then adds a critical comment along with two loosely parallel cases, each also found in Pliny’s *NH* and elsewhere: “The selection [ἡ ἐκλογή] might be thought to have something uncorroborated and hard to observe closely [ἀνεξέταστόν τι καὶ δυσπαρατήρητον], the same as the Euripus not reversing on the seventh day [sc. every month], and that ants rest at the new moon.”

<sup>16</sup> Marcotte (2007); cf. Marcotte (2000) cxvii–cxliv. A key link here is Priscian, whose *Solutiones* mentions geographical and meteorological works in the “philosophical corpus” and *Palatinus* 398 alike, and who also discusses lost or partially preserved works of Theophrastus.

ascription is still more questionable, given that the codex contains so many certainly mistaken ascriptions (at least ten of its 21 titles; see Table 1), and also that most of the other works it contains, genuine and factitious alike, actually come from authors of the Roman era. Not only are the external grounds for ascription to Antigonius of Carystus highly suspect. To judge by both its context in the codex and the organization and format of its diverse contents, the *Collection* as a whole is best understood as itself a relatively late compilation, assembled at some distance from the origins of its several parts, most likely between the second and sixth centuries, either by a later figure also named Antigonius or another hand no longer identifiable.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. Phaenias in Context

Both references to Phaenias appear in Part 4 from Callimachus. The entire sequence drawn from the “selection” he had produced is systematic in citing authorities. Among the 37 entries on water, 28 name authorities, and only one authority in all but two cases, where in each case the additional authorities are plainly interpolations by the Compiler.<sup>18</sup> Likewise for the appendix (Part 4B): six out of eight entries name authorities, and only one in every case; one of the two exceptions (*Coll.* 168) simply cites “the same” authority (as cited in the preceding entry), and the other (the preceding entry, *Coll.* 167) cites an unnamed “Sicilian visitor” in direct discourse. Further, for most of the other entries that provide no citation at all (nine on water), there are solid external grounds for ascribing the report to an authority cited in an adjacent entry, and usually the previous one. For example, after *Coll.* 145 cites Ctesias (along with an interpolated citation: see n. 18 above), 146 provides no citation; but Pliny assigns the same report to Ctesias

<sup>17</sup> The date of the compilation as a whole remains obscure. Parallel reports in some anonymous collections of “marvels” (the so-called Florentine, Palatine, and Vatican paradoxographers; texts in Giannini 1966), including one naming Antigonius (*Par. Vat.* 11) and another naming Callimachus (*Par. Pal.* 15), might narrow the range, if only the date of their own composition could be reliably determined; cf. Ziegler (1949) 1161–4, Giannini (1964) 135–8.

<sup>18</sup> *Coll.* 145 appends a corroborating authority in direct discourse (τοῦτο δ’ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Φίλων ὁ τὰ Αἰθιοπικὰ συγγραψάμενος); 161 similarly adds in direct discourse that “both Eudoxus and Callimachus omit” related details (τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Εὐδόξος καὶ Καλλίμαχος παραλείπουσιν...).



(*NH* 31.21; cf. *Coll.* 141–2 and 147–8, each also linked by μέν / δέ). That leaves only three or four cases where we have meager external basis for ascription—including one that would be ascribed to Phaenias (156: **39B**).<sup>19</sup> The presumption based on sequence is supported by another factor: in four of the five sections on water, and again in all four sections of the appendix 4B, no authority is cited more than once, which suggests that the reports within each section were also organized by authority.<sup>20</sup> In short, entries not explicitly attributed to any authority are more likely than not to depend on the authority previously named. The same holds for appended entries, though there the paucity of items reported within each subsection offers little room for repetition in the first place (only *Coll.* 168 citing “the same” authority; cf. n. 40 below).

Ascription of *Coll.* 156 (**39B**) to Phaenias, though inevitably uncertain, is therefore secure. But since the entries following his two citations (**39A–B** and **40**) are in each case explicitly ascribed to others (*Coll.* 157 to Nicagoras, 172 to Lycus), format offers no grounds for assigning him any other entries. That leaves us where we began, with two certain items and a third very nearly certain. A meager result, but with their context now before us, we may finally look more closely at each report.<sup>21</sup> They appear in two distinct sections of Callimachus’s “selection”: the pair (**39A–B**: *Coll.* 155–56 = cod. 171–72) in the section on lakes within the main series on water, and the third (**40**: *Coll.* 171 = cod. 187) in an appended section labeled “on plants” (in *Coll.* 169). It will be useful to look first at the last.

171. Φανίαν δὲ κατὰ τινὰς τόπους τῆς Λέσβου καὶ περὶ τῶν Νεανδριέων τὰς βώλους πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὕψεων παθήσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ χρησίμας· καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ ἐμβληθείσας οὔτε καταδύνειν οὔτε κατατήκεσθαι. ὑπὸ τοῦτο τὸ γένος πίπτοι ἂν καὶ ἐν Πιτάνῃ πλίνθος ἢ λεγομένη ἐπιπλεῖν.

<sup>19</sup> The other pairs are *Coll.* 131, plausibly ascribed to Theophrastus along with 130; 140, plausibly ascribed to Lycus along with 139; and 160, plausibly ascribed to Eudoxus (cited in 161) rather than Lycus (cited in 159).

<sup>20</sup> There are two exceptions, both in the section on springs, where both Theopompus (137 and 141) and Eudoxus (138 and 147) are cited twice. The discrepancy could be due to any number of factors, including further sub-divisions imposed by Callimachus (cf. κρήνη vs. πηγή) or disruption by the Compiler.

<sup>21</sup> Proposals to add other reports to this stock are not compelling. Müllenhoff (1870) 427 suggests four entries in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Mirabilia* (53–7); the first (53) closely parallels **39B**, and Flashar (1972) 92–3 (cf. 40) counts two others (55–6) as probable. The connections in all but the first case are tenuous, but a thorough collection of texts might include the sequence as *incerta*.

## 184 Phaenias of Eresus

[Callimachus says] that Phaenias [reports] that in some areas of Lesbos and around Neandria the lumps [of soil or clay] are also useful for conditions of the eyes, and if thrown into water they neither sink nor dissolve. Under this kind might fall also the brick in Pitane that is said to float.

The initial sentence adheres to the standard citation format used throughout the “selection” in Part 4: indirect discourse governed by “he [sc. Callimachus] says,” here understood from an immediately preceding φησι (the penultimate word in *Coll.* 170). But asyndeton and a shift to direct discourse mark the second sentence as clearly the Compiler’s addition.<sup>22</sup> Attention to format has two consequences for Phaenias. Only the first sentence is securely his. More importantly, the Compiler’s parallel diminishes the sense of “marvel” by providing corroborative evidence; we may still “wonder” *how* these solids can float, but the citation of similar cases confirms the fact. In effect, it restores the datum to something like its likely original context: natural history as a necessary basis for systematic explanation, and in this case, interest in the buoyancy of solids, which receives discussion already in Aristotle, near the end of his extended treatment of water in *Meteorology* 1.13–2.3, where two other cases in our Callimachean “selection,” both from Theopompus (*Coll.* 143 and 164), also appear.<sup>23</sup>

Bare factoids devoid of context can rarely be traced to their origin. But the location of this report from Phaenias points to his best attested work, *On Plants*. As noted above, the last eight items in the *Collection*

<sup>22</sup> The phrasing parallels a similar comment in Part 1 of the *Collection*, where the Compiler adds several unattributed reports: cf. here ὑπὸ τοῦτο τὸ γένος πίπτοι ἂν καὶ ... and πίπτοι δ’ ἂν τὸ γένος τῆς ἐκλογῆς εἰς τοὺς ... in *Coll.* 6. Both comments assert a topical link that indicates a focus on classification. Here the Compiler simply appends a parallel in “the same kind” or class: indissoluble floating earth, and floating bricks or blocks (presumably also indissoluble). Further parallels elsewhere link these reports to natural science. Strabo, in discussing Pitane, cites Posidonius for a Spanish parallel (13.1.67: fr. 237 EK). Vitruvius *De Arch.* 2.3.4 and Pliny *NH* 35.171, each drawing on Greek sources, also cite the Spanish case alongside Pitane’s bricks in their discussions of Greek brick-types (where they adopt the Greek classification by transliteration); and despite their focus on building materials, both supply a “scientific” explanation; cf. Seneca *NQ* 3.25.7, citing Theophrastus fr. 206, where “Lydia” encompasses Pitane; cf. Sharples (1998) 180–1.

<sup>23</sup> For buoyant earths with medicinal applications, cf. Theophrastus fr. 206 and *On Stones* 21–2 on pumice, with Sharples (1998) 180–1, and Pliny *NH* 36.154–6, describing its use in eye-salves before citing Theophrastus (fr. 413 no. 107) but apparently misreporting *HP* 9.17.3; cf. Sharples (1995) 177, Amigues (2006) 213–15.



form a sort of appendix covering four topics, each specified by the phrase “about” a specified class of phenomena: fire in *Coll.* 166, stones in 168, plants in 169, and animals in 172. Phaenias’ report falls within the short sequence “on plants.” It is risky to put any weight on geographical details: phenomena on Lesbos and (accepting Holsten’s correction of “people of Neandria” for Νεανδρίδων) on the Troad opposite Methymna, suit a native of Eresos but are hardly conclusive. On the other hand, two other features of the report also suit a botanical context, even without any explicit mention of plants. One is simply the attention to soil, even though it is nowhere mentioned in the fifteen extant botanical reports cited from his work. The other is his attention to its beneficial uses, an interest that also figures prominently in reports of his work *On Plants*.<sup>24</sup> There we find him cited for: using cucumber juice to make wine milder (45: 40 W from Ath. 1); mixing sea-water with grape juice to produce the special “floral” wine called *anthosmias* (46A–C also from Ath. 1); the edible berries of wild mulberry (47 from Ath. 2), the edible flesh of cucumbers and melons (51 from Ath. 2), the edible stalks of “Sicilian cactus” or cardoons (43 from Ath. 2), and several varieties of edible beans (48 and 53 from Ath. 2 and 9); the use of purse tassel “wool” for footwear (50 from Ath. 2); and a case most like the present one (40), various medicinal uses of nettle (54 from Pliny). All told, all but four of the fourteen named citations of Phaenias for his botanical work mention practical uses of the plants under discussion (the remaining four deal solely with points of morphology and nomenclature).

The other two reports (39A–B) appear as a pair, though they show little evident connection apart from their shared focus on a lake—and their origin in Phaenias. They appear in the section of the “selection” devoted to lakes.

155. Φανίαν δὲ τὴν τῶν †Πυράκων† λίμνην, ὅταν ἀναξηρανθῇ, κάεσθαι. 156. Καὶ τὴν Ἀσκανίαν πότιμον οὖσαν τὸ προσενεχθὲν αὐτῇ πλύνειν ἄνευ ῥύμματος, ἐὰν ἐαθῇ δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ πλείω χρόνον, διαπίπτειν αὐτόματον.

[Callimachus says] that Phaenias [reports] that the lake of the †Puraci† burns whenever it dries up. And that Lake Ascania, though potable, washes things put

<sup>24</sup> An instructive parallel is Galen’s account of medicinal uses of the *miltos* or “red earth” from Lemnos marketed with priestly certification as “seals,” one type of which was also used as a cleanser: *De simplicium medicamentorum* 9.2 (12.168–78 Kühn).

in it without a cleanser; and if they are left in it for more time, they fall apart on their own.

The name of the lake cited in the first report (**39A**) is apparently corrupt, which makes it difficult to add much to its paltry content. A location for τῶν Πυράκων, presumably “the Pyraci” or “people of Pyrax,” is not otherwise attested, and various emendations have been proposed. Meursius (in his 1619 edition) proposed Πυρραίων for “lake of the Pyrrhaeans” in Thessaly, and Schneider (1873 on fr. 100f no. 45) referred his proposal instead to Pyrrha on Lesbos, which would tie the report to Phaenias’ homeland again.<sup>25</sup> Alternatively, Bentley (on fr. 75 no. 29 in Graevius 1697) proposed Συράκων for “lake of the Syraci” or {τῶν} Συρακώ for “lake Syraco,” for a marshy lake outside Syracuse mentioned by geographic writers.<sup>26</sup> Another proposal comes from Keller (in his 1877 edition), who prints Τυράκων for “lake of the Tyraci.” Pfeiffer (on Callimachus fr. 407 no. 27) dismisses that as an ancient error for Syraco. But the name is attested for another Sicilian town, and one which figured in a geographic poem on *Europe* by Alexander of Ephesus (fr. 28 *SH*): “a small but prosperous *polis* in Sicily,” according to Herodian (*Prosod.* 11, 258.24–6; cf. 12, 315.17–18) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Tyracinae, 642.9–11). Another plausible alternative is Παλίκων for “lake of the Palici,” a marsh just west of Leontini that figures in several other “marvel” reports, including an entry in Part 3 of the *Collection* (121) drawn from Hippys of Rhegium, whose work Plutarch tells us Phaenias cited (**56B**). But the profusion of alternatives makes the only safe conclusion Pfeiffer’s (1949: 334): *res nondum diiudicata*.

<sup>25</sup> There was a sizable lake on the slopes of a mountain above Pyrrha called “mountain of the Pyrrhaeans” by Theophrastus *HP* 3.9.5; or given the lake’s tendency to burn when dry, the reference might be to a marshy area, perhaps a mere on the bay beside Pyrrha.

<sup>26</sup> Identified as a λίμνη in Stephanus Byz. *Ethn.* s.v. Syracuse (593), Sch. on Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 43.28–30 (with Pfeiffer ad loc.), Herodian *Prosodica* 12 (348.8 Lentz), cf. ps.-Scymnus *Periegesis* 281; a λίμνη or κρήνη (later named Arethusa) in Genesius *Reges* 4.33; or more narrowly a *palus* named *Tyraco* in Vibius Sequester *De fluviis* 220 (alphabetical order guarantees his spelling, which could be an inherited error); and an example of Doric apocope for Syracuse in Strabo, *Geogr.* 8.5.3, *Et. Magnum* s.v. Συρακοῦς (736.26), citing Epicharmus fr. 185 Kaibel.



The accompanying report (**39B**) concerns Lake Ascania, a long body of water in western Bithynia only a short distance inland from the Propontis that stretches from Nicea on its eastern shore to its western mouth, where the Ascanius River flows on west into the Propontis at Kios (later Prusias).<sup>27</sup> The lake figures in various other reports, including another on the surrounding water table in *Coll.* 162 from Eudoxus, and two in the Aristotelian *Mirabilia* (53 and 54; cf. n. 21 above); and similar phenomena evidently provoked much discussion in roughly contemporary circles: *Meteorology* 2.3, *Problemata* 23.40, *Problemata Inedita* 3.45, as well as *Coll.* 135 from Polyclitus in the Callimachean section on rivers.<sup>28</sup> What the extract from Phaenias singles out is the peculiar twofold nature of its water: at once pure enough to drink and endowed with unusual cleansing powers, presumably due to some sort of mineral content, here left unspecified. Any explanation Phaenias provided has been elided in the process of excerption and compilation; but one was near to hand. Aristotle, in his solution to the longstanding mystery of why the sea is salty (*Meteor.* 2.3), observes that water heavy with earthy admixtures sinks below freshwater (358b24–7). Although he defers any fuller explanation, a lengthy discussion of soda in Pliny (*NH* 31.106–13) that is heavily indebted to Theophrastus' lost monograph *On Salts, Soda, and Alum* describes the same phenomenon and then specifies its cause (*NH* 31.110, in fr. 223):

<sup>27</sup> Modern Lake Iznik; see Strabo 12.4.5–8, Ptolemy *Geogr.* 5.1, Stephanus Byz. s.v. Askania (132–3). Flashar (1972) 92 on *Mirab.* 53 (a close parallel to **39B**), citing Ruge (1896), favors a different Lake Ascania in Pisidia (*RE* no. 2, modern Baldur Diöülü), which Arrian *Anabasis* 1.29 describes as an inland source of salt (apparently edible). But the Pisidian lake is named nowhere else (possibly the same as an unnamed lake in Herodotus 7.30), whereas the Bithynian one was widely discussed, appearing already in Homer and widely thereafter; the phenomena reported in **39B** and *Mirab.* 53 depend on soda, not salt; and *Mirab.* 54 unequivocally specifies the Bithynian lake (*RE* no. 1; so too *NP*). The area was also a locus of major struggle following Alexander's death, and contemporary with Phaenias: Nicea was first founded as Antigoneia by Antigonus I in 316, then refounded as Nicea by Lysimachus (named for his wife, Antipater's daughter) after the death of Antigonus at Ipsus in 301; cf. Strabo 12.4.7.

<sup>28</sup> See Flashar (1972) 92–3. Flashar (1962) 659 also proposes emending *Probl.* 23.40 to name not Lake Paesa (above Lampsacus at the lower end of the Propontis: Strabo 13.1.19) but Lake Ascania. The lake, thanks to its presence in the *Iliad*'s Trojan catalogue (2.858–63, cf. 13.792–3), also figured in debates about ethnic and geographic boundaries; see Strabo 12.4.4–8, quoting Euphorion (fr. 74 CA, cf. fr. 46 from his *Chiliads*) and Alexander Aetolus (fr. 6 CA).

## 188 Phaenias of Eresus

Marvelous that in Lake Ascania and certain springs around Chalcis, the waters on the surface are fresh and potable, but full of soda lower down.<sup>29</sup>

The surface water was potable, the lower water mineralized. A heavy presence of nitrous soda (*nitrosae*), probably sodium carbonate ( $\text{Na}_2\text{CO}_3$ ),<sup>30</sup> popularly called “washing soda” for its capacity to dissolve and remove oil, fat, and other stains, explains the water’s cleansing power. It would also explain its power to make materials “fall apart” or dissolve, just as soda is widely used still today as a water softener—either to increase the efficiency of cleansers, or simply on its own, as here in Phaenias.<sup>31</sup>

The Ascania report thus shows close ties to Theophrastus, and specifically to his work on natural substances: water and mineral compounds. Its original home could of course be an unattested work by Phaenias in the same vein, though the attention to practical applications again recalls an interest prominent in the remains of his work *On Plants*. Alternatively, it could have come from field reports to distant colleagues discussing phenomena that figure in their extant works, as with the wood-lice in Theophrastus’ “letter” to Phaenias (5 = fr. 374 FHSg: Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1.972). In any case, since its original context is irretrievably lost, it may be more fruitful to return briefly to its present context in the material the Compiler of the *Collection* excerpted from Callimachus’ “selection of puzzling phenomena.”

### 3. Back to Callimachus

Pliny cites Phaenias by name only once, for an account of the beneficial uses of nettles (54 in *NH* 22.35). But there is almost certainly additional material buried elsewhere in Pliny’s books on medicinal uses of plants, since he lists *Phanias physicus* among his authorities (*auctores*) for six consecutive books (41A–F). The indices to Books 21–26, all devoted to the *uses* of plants, list him among foreign

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Theophrastus fr. 214A in Athenaeus 43B from *On Waters*: water by the Phrygian villages of Mên and Leon was similarly “rather harsh and full of soda” (τραχύτερα καὶ λιπωδέστερα).

<sup>30</sup> Sharples (1998) 223.

<sup>31</sup> For διαπίπτειν in this sense, cf. Plato *Phaedo* 80C (corpses), Aristotle *Meteor.* 2.7 365b12 (saturated earth), Theophrastus *HP* 3.8.7 (logs in a fire). Pliny’s summary emphasizes soda’s “causticity” (*acrimoniam*), corrosive enough to “consume footwear quickly” (*calciamenta protinus consumunt*) if merely stepped in (31.115).



*medici*, where he invariably appears near the head of the group, always following Mnesitheus and Callimachus.<sup>32</sup> For every one of these books, Pliny's chief foreign authority is Theophrastus (named first for Books 21–27, second for 19–20 apparently for chronological reasons: following Herodotus, then Democritus).

Externis: Theophrasto. Democrito. Orpheo. Pythagora. Magone. Menandro qui βιοχηρηστα scripsit. Nicandro. Homero. Hesiodo. Musaeo. Sophocle. Anaxilao. Medicis: Mnesitheo qui de coronis. Callimacho qui item. Phania physico. Timaristo. Simo. Hippocrate. Chrysippo. [et al.]

Three points deserve notice. Pliny cites Phaenias among *medici* despite his use of the epithet *physicus*; as a result, he does not appear alongside his more famous colleague and fellow botanist from Eresus; instead he follows Callimachus, who is cited for a work *De Coronis*.<sup>33</sup> The first point suits the emphasis on practical benefit we find in Pliny's sole citation and in so many of the other botanical fragments from Phaenias. It may also go some way to explaining why he is listed apart from his fellow *physicus* Theophrastus, despite Athenaeus' habit of citing the two in tandem for botanical lore. But his juxtaposition with Callimachus suggests a further explanation tied to where we find his three reports in the *Collection*. Given his presence in Part 4 drawn from the Callimachean "selection," it is worth asking whether material from Phaenias also reached Pliny via the poet's work, however indirectly, for example, via Roman intermediaries such as Varro, Sextius Niger, or Julius Bassus (the latter two writing in Greek), all cited for all of these books too.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Phaenias is notably absent from the index for other books on plants, where their practical uses are less prominent: *NH* 12–17 on botanical issues of classification, morphology, life-cycles, etc., 18–20 on agriculture, and surprisingly 27 (perhaps by negligence or scribal omission).

<sup>33</sup> The title is not otherwise attested and absent from Pfeiffer 1949. Pliny may refer to a different Callimachus; von Staden (1989) 480–3 identifies him with a third-century doctor associated with Herophilus on the basis of *NH* 21.12. But all of Pliny's 13 other citations of a Callimachus are of the poet (12 securely, one probably), and the sympotic context in 21.12 suits the poet well too, notwithstanding Pliny's epithet *medici*, which primarily designates Mnesitheus (probably of Athens, *RE* no. 3); likewise for the Callimachus Pliny names in his lists of authorities for Books 21–27, given his unequivocal references to the poet in 22.88 and 26.82.

<sup>34</sup> Varro's encyclopedic writings gave him any number of occasions to draw on Callimachus or Phaenias, or both; besides the extant *Res Rusticae* for botanical lore,

The work Pliny cites as *De Coronis* points to a Greek original entitled Περὶ στεφάνων, *On Garlands*. Though not attested elsewhere for Callimachus, the title has numerous parallels among the poet's attested works. His *Suda* entry (κ 227: test. 1) lists works *On the Rivers in the Inhabited Earth* (cf. frs. 457–9), *On the Rivers in Europe*, *On Things Marvelous and Puzzling in the Peloponnese and Italy*, *On Name-changes for Fishes*, *On Birds* (cf. frs. 414–28), *On Winds* (cf. fr. 404), and *Foundations of Islands and Cities, and Name-changes* (cf. frs. 463–4), most of which are also independently attested. Attested elsewhere are works *On the Rivers in Asia* (fr. 459), *On Nymphs* (fr. 413), *On Contests* (fr. 403; cf. his chronological *Table and Record* of dramatic performances in *Suda* test. 1 and frs. 454–6), and the mysteriously entitled *On Select* (or *Chosen*) *Ones* (Περὶ λογάδων, fr. 412).

As Pfeiffer observes (1949: 351 on frs. 457–9), the two narrower works on regional rivers look like parts of a single comprehensive work, such as the first title listed above. In fact, Strabo cites the work as “the *Collection* [συναγωγῇ] of the Rivers” (9.1.19: fr. 458); and a scholium (on an unidentified poetic text) refers simply to his work *On Rivers* (*POxy* 2085 fr. 1.2.29–34: fr. 457). It is only one step more, and not a big one, to conjecture that this work was either closely related to the “selection” excerpted in the *Collection*, presumably as its source, or simply formed a part of the original selection, alongside similar sections—to follow the lead of the other titles one more step—on birds, fishes, winds, nymphs, and so on. Given the traditional association of nymphs with bodies of water especially, the last of those would naturally include discussion of springs, lakes, and rivers too; and in fact, the sole fragment from that work is not only a report about water, but identical to a report from Theophrastus' *On Waters* that appears in one of the sections from the Callimachean “selection” as the first entry on kinds of water (*Coll.* 158: fr. 213B, cf. 213A for the title).<sup>35</sup>

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the lost dialogues of his *Logistorici* included one devoted to “marvels” entitled *Gallus Fundanius, De admirandis*, which reportedly discussed “lakes, ponds, wells, and seas” (fr. 3 Riese) and both animals (frs. 6, 8, 11) and plants (frs. 7, 10); cf. Ziegler (1949) 1164–5, and Scarborough (1986) for Sextius Niger.

<sup>35</sup> Callimachus fr. 413: Stobaeus 1.49.51 from Porphyry *On Styx* (fr. 374), describing the highly corrosive water from a spring near Nonacris in Arcadia that was traditionally associated with the legendary River Styx; cf. Herodotus 6.74, Pausanias 8.17.6–18.6. Water from this source was responsible, in one widely retold account, for the death of Alexander the Great, and in some versions Aristotle plays a pivotal role;



The titles attested for Callimachus range widely enough to form a virtually encyclopedic collection of information under topical headings. Recall that his “selection” as it has come down to us in the *Collection* is organized in nine distinct sections: five on bodies of water, another four on diverse topics, and all but one explicitly marked by a topic-formula (“on lakes” etc.) in initial position in the first entry of each section. The one exception is for springs, which follow rivers and form a single unit together with them (133–49), so marked in the initial entry (περὶ δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ κρηνῶν). Presumably springs figured similarly in his work or works “on rivers” too. Turning to his other works, it is tempting to conjecture that they in turn housed material excerpted in the final four sections of the selection. The truncated final section “on animals,” for example, now consists of a pair of reports on herons and jackdaws (*Coll.* 172–3), either or both of which might be equally at home in *On Birds* (frs. 414–28); and in fact, two of the fragments of that work deal with herons too (frs. 425, 427).<sup>36</sup> Granted, the information presented differs in focus and format: both excerpts in the *Collection* report specific and localized behavior and each cites an authority; those from *On Birds* address taxonomy and lexical distinctions. But the differences may be largely a reflection of our sources. Our evidence for *On Birds* survives mainly in lexicographic contexts (ten as glosses in poetry scholia, five in Athenaeus, one only in Hesychius); and even so, the one substantial excerpt from the work deals mainly with behavior (fr. 427 on herons), and so do three of the other citations (frs. 414, 415, 418).

Six sections of the “selection” (all five on water and the last on animals) have clear topical connections to other works by Callimachus. Connections with the other three sections on fire, stones, and plants are less obvious, but suggestive nonetheless. As in every other section, all five of the original entries (*Coll.* 166–71, excepting the interpolated 167) specify locations, which raises the possibility of geographic ties. His work on *Foundations of Islands and Cities*, which is attested only as a title in the *Suda* (test. 1), is not an apt parallel, since two of the reports name no particular sites, only loosely defined regions (*Coll.*

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see Sharples (1998) 200–202, with 192–3 for Theophrastus’ reliance on earthy admixtures and thermal properties to explain differences in waters.

<sup>36</sup> Both echo Aristotle *HA* 9: 9.12 615a24–31 on shorebirds in fr. 425; 9.1 609b21–7 and 9.18 616b33–17a8 on herons in fr. 427.

168, 170). A more likely parallel is again his work on rivers. Taking the last four sections together, the locations for five of the original seven reports (not counting 167 again) are directly tied to water: “the so-called undying fire” (from gas flares) on Mt. Chimaera on the Lycian coast below Phaselis in *Coll.* 166 (cf. *Mirabilia* 127, Pliny *NH* 5.100), flammable stones (probably lignite) in the marshlands of Thracian Bottiaea in 168 (cf. *Coll.* 136, *Mirabilia* 115), a thorn-tree on the island Erytheia (site of Gadeira, modern Cadiz) in 169, herons of the Diomedean Islands (modern Isole Tremiti) in 172 (cf. *Mirabilia* 79, Aelian *NA* 1.1, etc.), and jackdaws of the Adriatic Veneto in 173 (cf. *Mirabilia* 119, Aelian *NA* 17.16). Water also figures in the other two reports, both of which concern kinds of stone that exhibit surprising or “puzzling” behavior in conjunction with water: lignite or coal (ἄνθρακας) mined in Thesprotia reported by Theopompus in *Coll.* 170, which burns brighter if moistened (cf. *Coll.* 136, Theophrastus *On Stones* 12–16, Pliny *NH* 37.99); and the floating stones of Lesbos and Neandria reported by Phaenias in 171: **40**. In fact, water figures in two of the former reports as well: explicitly with the “undying fire” of *Coll.* 166, which “burns better if water is thrown on it”; and implicitly with the Thracian lignite of 168, which behaves similarly (cf. the σπί-voς or “Thracian stone” in Theophrastus *On Stones* 13, *Mirabilia* 41, Pliny *NH* 33.94).<sup>37</sup>

The pervasive role of water in all of these reports invites the inference that they all owe their presence in Callimachus’ original “selection” to that very factor. In short, the final four sections no longer look like a disjointed appendage of disparate material; on the contrary, they now look like excerpts from a systematically organized collection of “puzzling” reports about water, both bodies of water and related phenomena. Recall the parallel title listed in the *Suda*: *Collection of Marvels Worldwide by Locations* (test. 1). Whether or not an alternate title for the same work here labeled a “selection,” the wording is apt. Although the surviving excerpts plainly are not arranged geographically, they are all more or less precisely localized, and organized in the first instance by locale (equally κατὰ τόπους) in the first four sections on seas, rivers, springs, and lakes; and secondly by classes of associated phenomena at specified locations in the following sections on water, fire, stones, plants, and animals.

<sup>37</sup> See Sharples (1998) 184–5 and Eichholz (1965) 96–7.



Leaving later Compilers to the side, we have abundant evidence that Callimachus assembled (or middle-voice “had assembled” for him, as Pliny and Constantine Porphyrogenitus did long after him) information on a wide range of subjects drawn from a vast array of texts. If we now take an inventory of the authorities cited in the extant “selection” on bodies of water and related phenomena, a number of significant points emerge. First, not only does the selection tend to cite authorities only once within each topical section, as previously noted; the same names also recur in different sections. Material is thus organized first by topic, then by authority, and only then by location. Further, half of the authorities cited (seven of fourteen) are named more than once,<sup>38</sup> and two of those seven nowhere else in the *Collection*: Theophrastus (two reports by name and a third sequel) and our friend Phaenias (likewise three reports, two by name). To judge by explicit citations alone, then, only Callimachus made use of their works in compiling his material;<sup>39</sup> and at least in what we have, he relied on them equally.<sup>40</sup> The twelve others cited form a disparate but mostly reputable group: Eudoxus (seven reports, five by name), Theopompus (the same), Lycus (also five by name, possibly two others), Aristotle (twice), and seven more only once each (cf. n. 38). Given the focus on water, it is not surprising that Aristotle is largely absent; one of his two citations is for the only report on plants (*Coll.* 169), a topic for which neither Theophrastus nor Phaenias is cited, at least in the surviving excerpts. More to the point, neither citation of Aristotle is for information found in transmitted texts; both must come from lost

<sup>38</sup> More precisely, *Coll.* 129–73 names 17 writers, including Callimachus himself twice, first in the introductory 129 and again in 161; indirect discourse shows that both references come from the Compiler. The same goes for one citation of Eudoxus (also in 161), two of three of Timaeus (140 and 152 but not 134), and the sole mentions of Philo (145) and Timon (169). That leaves a total of 32 citations of 14 different authorities.

<sup>39</sup> In fact, most if not all of the material collected in Part 1 would be at home in one or more of Theophrastus’ zoological works: *Coll.* 1–18 in *On Differences by Locale*, 19 in *On Animals that Swarm*, 20 in *On Grudging Animals*; cf. Sharples (1995) 32–78, who notes parallels with a dozen of the entries, and Flashar (1972) 40–1 for similar parallels in the ps.-Aristotle *Mirabilia*.

<sup>40</sup> Another report (*Coll.* 168) evidently derives from Theophrastus *On Stones* (fr. 209 no. 3), and the preceding entry (167), also on stones, might too; see Sharples (1998) 184–5. The absence of his name in either entry could then be due to the Compiler omitting intervening reports, including one that did name him.

works. The same holds for all three reports cited under Theophrastus' name, and likewise of course for those from Phaenias. Still another report on lakes cites Heraclides (152), and a parallel in a similar compilation (*Paradox. Florentinus* 22) confirms that this is their colleague from the Pontus (137C Schütrumpf). In short, Callimachus evidently had access to relevant works by each of them that no longer survive; and in some cases his use of those works may be responsible for any trace of them that has survived.<sup>41</sup>

Most of Callimachus' own "selection" is lost too, and likewise most of the works from which he assembled it. A comment by the Compiler who collected the surviving excerpts shows that he in turn was willing to interpolate additional cases. Before appending a related report about a stream on Cos in *Coll.* 161, he notes that "both Eudoxus and Callimachus omit this" (τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Εὐδόξος καὶ Καλλίμαχος παραλείπουσιν). Conversely, the Compiler makes no pretense of preserving all he found in Callimachus. Recall the comment that introduces Part 4: "we are recording as much as we found worthy of notice" (*Coll.* 129). The brevity of the final sections (Part 4B) shows that he had no qualms about virtually wholesale omissions. If his practice was anything like what produced the selections from Aristotle's *HA* in Part 2 of the *Collection*—whether that was the work of the same or another Compiler—the resulting "selection" that now forms Part 4 is only the palest ghost of what must have originally been a far more extensive *Selection*. In short, the *Collection* as a whole is not only a compilation from multiple sources, each presented separately in Parts 1–4. It is itself in turn a highly selective "selection" from those sources.

That Phaenias survived this drastic winnowing and gained admission to such a select group may be less a tribute to the significance of his writings than a sign of enduring ancient interest in "puzzling reports." Witness the vast collections of *problemata* preserved within the Aristotelian corpus, all organized topically like both the Palatine *Collection* as a whole and the Callimachean material in it, and similar collections outside the corpus, not to mention the various collections

<sup>41</sup> Most of the rest of his material comes either from geographic works by Eudoxus and Lycus (12–14 reports, 10 named) or historians of various stripes and interests: Theopompus for the Aegean (7 reports, 5 by name), Megasthenes and the unreliable Ctesias for Eastern exotica (6 reports, 5 by name), and the obscure Amometus, Nica-goras, Polyclitus (or possibly Polycritus), and Xenophilus (one each).



of “marvels” and “puzzling” phenomena both transmitted and attested, many also organized topically.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, the complex history of this material is still too obscure to tell us much about the nature of Phaenias’ work, except that it extended into areas of earth science that his colleagues addressed systematically. How he contributed to their projects, or even if he did, we may never know. That much remains a mystery. But tracing the course of his three reports (**39A–B** and **40**) has uncovered some key stops along their checkered journey, and therewith provided an instructive case study of the hazardous transmission and meager survival of early Peripatetic research in natural history beyond the life sciences, including the earthly domains of ancient meteorology now counted as geoscience.<sup>43</sup>

A brief recapitulation of the course we have traced may serve as conclusion. Callimachus, drawing on the vast collections of the Ptolemaic libraries in the mid-third century, produced (or oversaw the production of) multiple albums of more or less exotic and “puzzling” phenomena reported in a wide range of historiography and natural history, including lost works from the early Peripatos. His own prominence as both poet and scholar assured the survival of his albums at least into the Roman era, when Pliny and predecessors like Varro a generation or so earlier readily drew on it. Within Callimachus’ lifetime or shortly thereafter, Antigonos of Carystus compiled a work *On Animals*, apparently also drawing on Aristotle among others, including Theophrastus. His work in turn survived long enough to be excerpted under his name, possibly into the sixth century or beyond (though Hesychius most likely only repeats an earlier citation). At some point between the second and sixth centuries, then, a self-effacing Compiler collected excerpts from Antigonos and Aristotle (for Parts 1 and 2), Callimachus (for Part 4), and apparently one or more other sources (for Parts 1 and 3: perhaps a prior compilation), which he assembled in something like the form of the *Collection* we have today, sprinkled with interpolations from his own reading. This very mixed bag circulated widely enough, even if only in Constantinople, for John of Lydia

<sup>42</sup> For *problemata*, see Flashar (1962) 356–70, Kapetanaki and Sharples (2006) 1–28; for *mirabilia*, Ziegler (1949) and Giannini (1964) discussion and (1966) texts.

<sup>43</sup> For the similar fate of zoological works from the early Lyceum, see Lennox (1994), Sharples (1995) 32–48, Kullmann (1997), White (2002), Hellmann (2006), and (forthcoming).

and Stephanus of Byzantium to cite passages from it under the name that by now apparently stood at the head of Part 1: Antigonus. By then, or not long thereafter, the *Collection* (a copy if not the original) found itself in the general vicinity of a set of rare geographical works, which also survived into the mid-ninth century, when a group of avid scholars close to Photius in Constantinople produced a fresh codex of the *Collection* together with its companion works in *Palatinus* 398, alongside fresh codices containing all of Plato, much if not all of our Aristotelian corpus, and a substantial body of later comment on their works.<sup>44</sup> There the Palatine codex remained through the following six centuries, largely intact but for the loss at an indeterminate date of several folia, including the final two of our *Collection*. Around 1300, probably at the behest of Planudes, the geographic works in the first half of the codex were copied again together with complete texts of Strabo and Ptolemy's *Geography* in a fresh codex (*Vatopedinus* 655 and its missing leaves). Finally, shortly before the city's fall to the Ottomans, the Dominican John the Stoic (or Stojković) of Ragusa, visiting in connection with the Council of Basel in 1435–7, purchased the codex and took it home to Basel, where he bequeathed it to his Dominican brothers. There it served a century later as the basis for the *editiones principes* of Parthenius and some of the geographical works in 1531 and 1533, and then for Xylander's *Collectio* in 1568. Such was the odyssey of texts **39A–B** and **40** and their diverse companion texts.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Photius, who also had access to several lost works of Theophrastus (five summarized in codex 278 of his *Bibliotheca* along with two extant works; see Burnikel [1974] 131–49), summarizes three of the rare works preserved only in *Palatinus* 398: titles 12, 15, and 16b from Table 1 in *Bibl.* codices 161, 69, and 97; cf. Marcotte (2007) 169–70.

<sup>45</sup> I thank fellow participants in the Trier conference for helpful discussion, the organizers for convening such a fruitful meeting, and Marquis Berrey, Cristina Carusi, and Bernhard Herzhoff for expert guidance on ancient earths, salts, and stones.



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## 6

# Biography and History in Phaenias of Eresus

*Stefan Schorn*

### Introduction

Much ink has been spilt over the character of Phaenias' works of which some fragments of historical and biographical content have been preserved. What has puzzled scholars most is the role these works may have played in the early history of Greek biography. But given the small number of fragments preserved and the ambivalent character of their book titles, without a papyrus find or a similar wonder, we will probably never find out whether these works were biographies in a strict sense, philosophical or historical works in which biographical aspects also played a certain role, collections of anecdotes or some other kind of collections of information around certain topics. The works of Phaenias that fall into this category are: *On Poets*, *On the Socratics*, *On the Tyrants of Sicily*, *Killings of Tyrants for Revenge* (here one could at the most think of partial biographies) and *Against the Sophists*.<sup>1</sup> No less problematic are several fragments on Solon and Themistocles that have to a large extent been preserved by the relevant *Lives* of Plutarch without indication of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Momigliano (1993) 77–8.

book title. Already Leo noted that “at least Themistocles, the strongest personality of the older Attic history and already privileged by Thucydides, was dealt with in a wholly biographical manner (scil. by Phaenias).”<sup>2</sup> However, Leo avoids expressing himself about the provenance of these texts. Momigliano speaks of “fine specimens of biographical style,” but then closes his discussion of Phaenias’ position in the history of early biography with the words: “In the present state of our knowledge it would be absurd to deny altogether that Phaenias wrote biographies; but it is a waste of time to try to guess what sort of biography Phaenias may have written, since we cannot be certain that there even was biography by Phaenias.”<sup>3</sup> That is undoubtedly correct. But what we can do is study Phaenias’ book titles and biographical and historical fragments in the context of biographical and historical literature. That is what I intend to do with a focus on the biographical aspects. The questions I want to ask are: Who wrote works with identical or similar titles and what can we learn about the Peripatetic by comparing their contents with the remains of Phaenias’ works? How does the information in Phaenias relate to other traditions on the same events and persons, and what can we infer from these relationships about the distinctive characteristics and tendencies of our author’s works? One problem is, however, that many of the relevant works are preserved in fragments as well, so their interpretation relies in part equally on hypotheses. In addition, I want to examine the reliability of Phaenias and, in connection with that, the role philosophy may have played in his biographical and historical presentations. To Leo Phaenias was a “scholar to whom authentic material and detecting the truth did matter,”<sup>4</sup> whereas to Laqueur Phaenias’ *Life of Themistocles* (whose existence he takes for granted) was “a treatise on φιλοτιμία, exemplified by one person” and full of inventions.<sup>5</sup> And until recently it was generally assumed that in *Killings of Tyrants for Revenge* Phaenias wanted to illustrate a theory contained

<sup>2</sup> Leo (1901) 110: “wenigstens Themistokles, die stärkste Persönlichkeit der älteren attischen Geschichte und schon von Thukydides bevorzugt, ist ganz biographisch behandelt.”

<sup>3</sup> Momigliano (1993) 78.

<sup>4</sup> Leo (1901) 109: “ein Forscher, dem es noch auf authentisches Material und Ermittlung der Wahrheit ankam.”

<sup>5</sup> Laqueur (1938) 1588: “eine Abhandlung über φιλοτιμία, dargelegt an einer Person.”



in Aristotle's *Politics* by historical examples.<sup>6</sup> So one may ask whether philosophical aims had an impact on what he narrated and if they led to distortions or even pure inventions.

For a full understanding of Phaenias as biographer and historian, a thorough analysis of all historical and biographical fragments would be necessary. This is not possible in the current article. But I have tried to make a representative choice of fragments, which I have analyzed in detail, while others have been dealt with cursorily. Needless to say, when our author is spoken of here as a biographer and historian, this is not meant to suggest that he wrote formal biographies or historiographical works. It only designates an author who wrote about lives and events of the past in whatever work of literature. In what way he did this will be the subject of the following pages.

### *On Poets (Περὶ ποιητῶν)*

When Phaenias published his *Περὶ ποιητῶν*, works of this kind had been written for decades. Probably still in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., Glaucus of Rhegium wrote the first book on the history of literature and music which is referred to in our sources by the (not original) titles *Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν*, *Ἀναγραφὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν* and *Περὶ ποιητῶν*.<sup>7</sup> Others composed treatises on certain groups of poets like citharodes or tragedians, books on single poets or works *Περὶ μουσικῆς* that often also dealt with single musicians. From the long list of authors to be included in *FGrHist* IV, I select only a few predecessors of Phaenias and some contemporary Peripatetics: Damastes of Sigeum, *Περὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν*, Alcidas, *Περὶ Ὀμήρου*, Aristotle, *Περὶ ποιητῶν*, Aristoxenus, *Περὶ τραγωδοποιῶν*, Heracleides Ponticus, *Περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου*

<sup>6</sup> Arist. *Pol.* 1311a25–27; see Wehrli (1969) 32; Momigliano (1993) 77–8; Cooper (1995): 324; Engels (1998) 300; differently now Schütrumpf, in this volume, p. 323–350.

<sup>7</sup> Probably none of those titles is original, but each was given to the work later. They show, however, that it was seen as belonging to the tradition of works with such titles; for the fragments, see Lanata (1963) 270–81; on the content and character of the work, see Huxley (1968). The titles: *Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν* ([Plu.] *De mus.* 4 p. 1132e = fr. 1 Lanata), *Ἀναγραφὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν* ([Plu.] *De mus.* 7 p. 1133f = fr. 2 Lanata), *Περὶ ποιητῶν* ([Plu.] *Vit. X or.* 833d [mentioned only in Lanata's commentary on p. 272]); cf. Huxley (1968) 47.

ἡλικίας, Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὀμήρου, Περὶ μουσικῆς, Περὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ ποιητῶν, Dicaearchus, Περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων, Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, Περὶ Ἀλκαίου, Duris of Samos, Περὶ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους, Lynceus of Samos, Περὶ Μενάνδρου, etc. Some works only contained the rough outline of literary and musical history (names of authors with only basic biographical data or none at all, information on discipleships, innovations, dates), some were commentaries, others collections of full biographies and again others collections of various kinds of information about poets (biographical and other as well). One may also add local chronicles like *Atthides* and the genre Περὶ εὐρημάτων (*On Inventions*) both of which regularly contained information on poets (biographical and otherwise). On the basis of one sure and two possible, i.e. assigned, fragments, almost nothing can be said about the position of Phaenias' Περὶ ποιητῶν within this tradition. In addition, ascriptions of fragments without book titles to attested works, as convincing as they may seem, always have to be regarded with some reserve, as is shown by **15**, which deals with the bad poets of nomes Telenicus and Argas. If it were transmitted without the book title, it would probably have been assigned to *On Poets*, and nobody would ever have guessed that it came from *Against the Sophists*, as this work is only attested in this fragment. And even if the book title were known from another source, one would hardly have expected this fragment to have been part of this work.<sup>8</sup>

Let us have a closer look at **38**. Wehrli regards it as remarkable that the citharist Stratonicus was treated in a work *On Poets*, because citharists were instrumentalists and did not sing, so they were not poets. Thus Wehrli assumed that a broad concept of poet had been applied in this work.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, such a conclusion is not necessary because Athenaeus has preserved two lyrical verses of Stratonicus. In them Stratonicus mocks the Pythagorean Diodorus of Aspendus for displaying the outfit of a Cynic.<sup>10</sup> Thus our musician was also a poet. Moreover, he was well known as a mocker, and Athenaeus reports many of his witticisms. In these sayings he sometimes made use of the

<sup>8</sup> Cf. below, p. 222, on the problem of assigning fragments without the book title to attested works.

<sup>9</sup> Wehrli (1969) 38.

<sup>10</sup> Ath. 4, 163e = *Supplementum Hellenisticum* nr. 737; on the verses, see López Cruces (1991).



verses by other poets.<sup>11</sup> In addition, he was an influential teacher of music and thus probably of citharodes as well; they were lyre-players *and* poets at the same time, and he compiled a διάγραμμα, which is likely to have been used by the latter as well. All that, especially the first point, explains perfectly his presence in Phaenias' work.

Before we come to the content of **38**, a word on its scope is in place. Wehrli, Engels and others have it end with ἀπίθανος, probably because the text is in direct speech up to this point; when after this the story of Stratonicus' death is narrated, it continues in indirect speech, with reference to hearsay (φασιν).<sup>12</sup> I think that the argument of Athenaeus makes it probable that the fragment also includes the death story. The long section 8,348d–353d consists of many funny anecdotes that are told to illustrate the quick-wittedness and witticisms of Stratonicus. It closes with the quotation from Phaenias and the death story. Before the Phaenias fragment there is a quotation from Ephorus' second book *On Inventions* (*FGrHist* 70 fr. 2) where it is claimed that with such witticisms our poet and Philoxenus of Cythera aimed at imitating Simonides. Thematically, the first part of the Phaenias fragment is out of place in this section as it does not deal with the jokes of the musician but with his innovations. Only its last sentence fits the general topic: "Nor in the matter of humor did he fail to hit the mark."<sup>13</sup> Afterwards, the text continues with one of Stratonicus' witticisms, viz. the one that led to his death. If we delineate the fragment as in the recent editions of Phaenias, we have to assume that Athenaeus quoted Phaenias in this section because of the pointless statement: "Nor in the matter of humor did he fail to hit the mark," and that he did so after he had already quoted more than 60 examples of his jokes and although the man, if for anything, was famous for his funny sayings. These were already collected immediately after his death by various authors like Theophrastus,

<sup>11</sup> On that feature of his sayings, see Gilula (2000) 432–3.

<sup>12</sup> Fr. 32 Wehrli; fr. 13 Engels (1998) and **38**; the same delineation in Kaibel (1887–1890) II 272, Gulick (1927–41) IV 96; L. Citelli, in: Canfora (2001) IV 385; A. Marchiori, in: Canfora (2001) II 873 (see there, n. 3, for further literature on the delineation of the text); Gilula (2000) 424–5.

<sup>13</sup> Here and in the following translations and paraphrases I am drawing freely on Engels' translations in *FGrHist* IV A 1. I have done the same in other places with Olson's translation of Athenaeus (2006–11), Hicks' translation of Diogenes Laertius (1925) and Perrin's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* (1914).

Callisthenes, Clearchus, and Timaeus, all quoted by Athenaeus in the preceding text.<sup>14</sup> It seems to me quite unlikely that Athenaeus included a passage from Phaenias, which for the most part did not fit thematically, just because of this last rather pointless sentence. It is much likelier that he included an excerpt from our author that is, in its first part, not pertinent, while in its second part provides an example of Stratonicus' witticism. This is the case if we let the excerpt continue after ἀπίθανος and include the report of the joke about the sons of king Nicocles of Salamis that cost him his life. Following Müller and Olson, I thus regard the whole text up to υἱούς as belonging to the Phaenias fragment.<sup>15</sup> The change from direct to indirect speech in the second part of the fragment can easily be explained if we assume that Phaenias considered the musical innovations of Stratonicus as certain facts, while he wanted to label the death story, which indeed sounds legendary,<sup>16</sup> as hearsay without endorsing its historicity.

If this interpretation is correct, three topics or sections of Phaenias' treatment of Stratonicus can still be discerned: first a section on inventions, typical of works of the Περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα type,<sup>17</sup> and second the death story which was also a recurrent element in such works, especially, but not exclusively, when they contained biographies. Third, the sentence "Nor in the matter of humor did he fail to hit the mark" may suggest that Phaenias had also collected other examples of Stratonicus' jokes. This would not be surprising considering the eagerness with which his contemporaries were gathering them. Thus the work may have been a collection of biographies or a collection of loose biographical and possibly other data on poets. In any case, nothing suggests that Phaenias' work was a commentary or a sober

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Maas (1931) 327 for a list of authors who transmit Stratonicus' witticisms; on Stratonicus, see now Gilula (2000).

<sup>15</sup> Müller, *FHG* II 299 fr. 17; Olson (2006–11) IV 97 n. 152; this delineation also in Schweighaeuser (1803b) IV 617 (following Casaubonus), who conjectures φησὶ for the transmitted φασὶ: Schweighaeuser (1803a) III 298.

<sup>16</sup> On the topos 'tyrant punishes poet/philosopher for his frankness', see e.g. Dionysius I – Philoxenus (with Muccioli [2004]); Nicocreon of Salamis – Anaxarchus (with Schorn [2004] 385 with n. 1035; 430–3).

<sup>17</sup> See e.g., Glaucus fr. 2 & 3 Lanata; on the interest in *heuremata* in the Peripatos, see Engels (1998) 319; Fortenbaugh (2014) 195–207.



work that only contained information strictly related to the development of poetry.<sup>18</sup>

**25** deals with the relative chronology of early Greek poets. According to Phaenias, the Lesbian poet Lesches lived before Terpander and defeated Arctinus in a contest, and Terpander was younger than Archilochus. Scholars assign the fragment either to the local chronicle *The Prytaneis of Eresus* or to *On Poets*.<sup>19</sup> At any rate, together with **24** (absolute date for the Return of the Heraclidae), **27** (Solon's year of death dated by an Athenian archon) and the very fact that he authored a chronicle, it attests Phaenias' special interest in chronology, an interest that has various parallels in the early Peripatos.<sup>20</sup>

Mosshammer has made it very probable that Phaenias' chronological system was adopted in some entries of the *Marmor Parium*, a chronographical work preserved by an inscription that was only a few years younger than Phaenias' chronicle (the inscription was erected in 264).<sup>21</sup> It is however improbable that the author used Phaenias to a large extent, as Boeckh once conjectured.<sup>22</sup> According to Mosshammer, the dates on Lesches, Terpander, and Arion, and perhaps those on Sappho and Alcaeus come from Phaenias, i.e. the chronological data on the poets from Lesbos. Mosshammer does not mention any poet from another place for whom the use of Phaenias' dating system can be demonstrated. This is a clear indication that the author of the inscription used Phaenias' local chronicle, and not *On Poets* where

<sup>18</sup> On the various possible contents of works Περὶ τοῦ δεῖναι, see Schorn (2007 [2010]).

<sup>19</sup> Engels fr. 10 (1998) under *The Prytaneis of Eresus*; cf. his commentary on p. 315–6; Wehrli (1969) fr. 33 under *On Poets*; cf. his commentary on p. 39, where Wehrli also considers assignation to *The Prytaneis of Eresus*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Mosshammer (1978) 109; Engels (1998) 311–2. Wehrli (1969) 33 states that Demetrius of Phalerum's Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφὴ is closest in character to our work; Engels (1998) 312 mentions in addition Aristotle's and Callisthenes' list of winners at the Pythian Games, Mosshammer (1978) 110 points to the collections of constitutions by Aristotle and his students. Chronological calculations, usually in the form of relative chronologies, were also part of other historical works, see e.g. Theophrastus (doxography); Eudemus (astronomy); Chamaeleon and Hieronymus of Rhodes (cultural history and history of literature), as Mosshammer rightly adds.

<sup>21</sup> See Mosshammer (1978).

<sup>22</sup> Boeckh (1843) 304–6; cf. Mosshammer (1978) 108; Engels (1998) 315–6.

also (or only?) poets from other places were discussed.<sup>23</sup> To what extent such a chronicle could also contain biographical information, besides pure chronological data, is shown by similar works:<sup>24</sup> the only fragment of Neanthes' *Yearbooks* deals with innovations by Ibycus and Anacreon;<sup>25</sup> in the *List of Archons* by Demetrius of Phalerum it is claimed that the term 'Seven Sages' was introduced in the year of Damasios (582/1).<sup>26</sup> He dates the beginning of Anaxagoras' stay in Athens to the archonship of Kallias (456/5) and mentions that at this time the philosopher was 20 years old and resided there for 30 years.<sup>27</sup> As one can see, in such 'lists of magistrates' we cannot expect extensive biographical reports but at most only basic chronological data and single items of information.<sup>28</sup> Thus *The Prytaneis of Eresus* will also have contained this kind of information about the poets from Lesbos. **25**, if its attribution is correct, points in this direction as well. For the content of *On Poets*, assigning **25** to *The Prytaneis of Eresus* means that there is no evidence that in this work Phaenias dealt with the poets of the Archaic period.

**17**, the last fragment one may be inclined to assign to *On Poets*, seems to confirm this. It gives a report about the relationship between the tyrant Dionysius I and Philoxenus of Cythera, a poet who died only a few years before Phaenias was born.<sup>29</sup> In its first part it transmits an amusing *bon mot* of the poet. When during a dinner with Dionysius I a large mullet was set before the tyrant and a small one before

<sup>23</sup> Nothing suggests that *The Prytaneis of Eresus* were a universal chronicle; cf. Mosshammer (1978) 108; Wehrli (1969) 33; see Wehrli and Engels (1998) 312–3 for plausible explanations for the presence of information from outside Eresus.

<sup>24</sup> On similar works, see Engels (1998) 311–2.

<sup>25</sup> Neanthes, *FGrHist* 84 fr. 5 with Schorn (2007) 146–7.

<sup>26</sup> Dem. Phal. fr. 149 Wehrli = fr. 93 SOD.

<sup>27</sup> Demetr. Phal. fr. 150 Wehrli = fr. 94 SOD.

<sup>28</sup> I would not put the work on the same level with the two works on tyrants and call them "highly anecdotal," as Cooper (1995) 324 does. The anecdotal character of the chronicle was in any case different from that of the two other works. Nor would I want to speak, as Cooper (1995) 329 does, of a *diadoche*: "a succession of rulers or magistrates." This would mean that every work that dates according to eponymous magistrates is a *diadoche*, which would lead the idea of *diadoche ad absurdum*.

<sup>29</sup> Fr. 2 Engels (1998) and **17** and fr. 13 Wehrli (both under *On the Tyrants of Sicily*); in the commentary, on p. 31, Wehrli emphasizes that the fragment can also stem from *On Poets*, as Schweighaeuser (1801) 76 and Voisin (1824) 64 n. 1 thought; according to Muccioli (2004) 125 the story could have been included in both works.



himself, “he took it up in his hands and placed it to his ear. When Dionysius asked him why he did that, Philoxenus answered that he was writing a poem *Galateia* and desired to ask the mullet some questions about Nereus and his daughters. And the creature, on being asked, had answered that she had been caught when too young, and therefore had not joined Nereus’ company; but her sister, the one set before Dionysius, was older, and knew accurately all he wished to learn. So Dionysius, with a laugh, sent him the mullet that had been served to himself.” The fragment continues after the anecdote but probably somewhat less literally.<sup>30</sup> Caught at seducing Dionysius’ mistress, whose name also happened to be *Galateia*, he was thrown into the quarries where he wrote the *Cyclops*, in which he represented Polyphemus as Dionysius, the nymph as the mistress of the same name, and Odysseus as himself. I do not want to dwell on the complicated questions in connection with the title, contents, and reports about the genesis of Philoxenus’ *Cyclops or Galateia*.<sup>31</sup> What we have in this Phaenias fragment are typical anecdotes about poets. They are good examples of the so-called ‘method of Chamaeleon’, i.e. the biographical interpretation of poetry (often in a fantastic manner) or the invention of stories from the poet’s life related to his famous poems.<sup>32</sup> In the first anecdote, the poet feels treated improperly by Dionysius at a dinner party and reacts in a way that fits his profession as a poet and that is related to one of his famous poems. Chamaeleon and Callistratus tell a similar story about Simonides.<sup>33</sup> In the second, some more links between the poem and the story itself can be discerned which show how the story was created by using the content of the poem, as has been made plausible by Arnott, following others:<sup>34</sup> In

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Wehrli (1969) 31. By using normal letter size, Engels (1998) shows that he does not regard the following as a verbal quotation. The text that precedes is printed in spaced letters which indicates verbal quotation.

<sup>31</sup> A comprehensive but sometimes speculative treatment in Muccioli (2004).

<sup>32</sup> On the ‘method of Chamaeleon’, see esp. Arrighetti (1987) 141–90; Schorn (2007 [2010]) 46–47; (2008); (2014) 682–3. One may think of the stories about the death of Euripides (on the basis of *Bacchae*) and of Sophocles (related to *Antigone*); for more details, see Schorn (2004) 177–81; 334–9.

<sup>33</sup> See Chamaeleon fr. 33 Wehrli = fr. 36 Martano; Callistratus, *FGrHist* 348 fr. 3; Wehrli (1969) 31 mentions the parallels in his commentary; cf. Schorn (2007 [2010]) 44; also Engels (1998) 299 speaks of a typical anecdote.

<sup>34</sup> See Arnott (1996) 140 who refers to Webster (1953) 20–1 and Robert (1923) 1351–7.

the lost *Cyclops or Galateia*, Philoxenus modified the story known from the *Odyssey*. He presented Polyphemus as living together with his mistress Galateia in his cave when Odysseus came and seduced her. As a consequence, Odysseus was locked up in the cave by Polyphemus but was able to escape in the end. Incidentally, the story played out on Sicily. So since it was located on this island, Dionysius I was near-sighted, Philoxenus very probably sojourned at his court and since—possibly but not necessarily—the relationship between the two men was troubled, the whole story about Philoxenus, the mistress Galateia, and the incarceration was made up. The reference to the source of the tale, here Philoxenus' poem, can regularly be found in anecdotes made up with the method of Chamaeleon. Sometimes such references are included as authoritative quotations that serve to confirm the truth of the story: the poet himself alludes to his experience in his work, so it must be true. Sometimes they have the function of signals of irony that help the reader identify the source of the story and, consequently, 'decode' it thereby discerning the elements used to make it up. In the latter case, the stories are often told as hearsay in order to emphasize their fictional character.<sup>35</sup>

In addition, Attic comedy may have contributed to the formation of the biographical legend. In Alexis' *Galateia*, produced between the late 360's and the 340's,<sup>36</sup> a slave narrates that something unpleasant happened to his master as a young man (the text is corrupt, so we do not know what exactly occurred), because he was striving for philosophical knowledge and spent all his time with the brilliant sophist Aristippus who outstepped all other men in licentiousness (ἀκολασία).<sup>37</sup> The speaker of these words is probably Polyphemus' slave (anachronisms of this kind are not uncommon in Middle Comedy).<sup>38</sup> In reality it was the tyrant Dionysius I who spent a lot of time with Aristippus, and it was because of this relationship and his life of luxury in Syracuse that Aristippus was often criticized. Thus in this play Polyphemus and Dionysius were related to one another.<sup>39</sup> If the

<sup>35</sup> Such stories are presented as hearsay e.g. in Satyrus und Chamaeleon; cf. Schorn (2004) esp. 46–9 and (2007 [2010]).

<sup>36</sup> Thus Arnott (1996) 141 n. 1.

<sup>37</sup> Fr. 37 Kassel–Austin = Ath. 12,544e–f.

<sup>38</sup> Examples of such anachronisms in Arnott (1996) 141.

<sup>39</sup> *Pace* Arnott (1996) 140–1 who writes: "The extant frs. are easily interpreted (*pace* Breitenbach 159 and Nesselrath, *MK* 295) in terms of non-political myth travesty,



identification of the speaker is correct, Polyphemus was described with traits of Dionysius I.<sup>40</sup>

We do not know if Phaenias, by pointing to the origin of the story, wanted to confirm or undermine its credibility, as his report seems to be abbreviated. The abbreviation is probably due to the fact that the report comes from book I of Athenaeus of which only the epitome has been preserved. In the first and (probably) verbal part of the text, as well as in the second he reports the facts without reservation and in direct speech, which may suggest that the reference to the poem was meant as an authoritative quotation. But nothing excludes the possibility that a signal of irony or an explicit statement of the author has been left out by Athenaeus or his epitomator, by which Phaenias showed reticence toward its historicity. We therefore cannot decide how seriously Phaenias took this story.

As for the evaluation of Phaenias as a biographer and historian, the following general observations can be made on the basis of this fragment:

1) The first anecdote presents a friendly picture of Dionysius I: he has a sense of humor. So obviously he was not portrayed in a totally negative manner. This may bring Phaenias' fellow Peripatetic Aristoxenus to mind since he speaks about his own meetings with Dionysius II during the latter's exile in Corinth, where the tyrant told him his version of the conflict with Plato. Here too, the tyrant is depicted in a favorable way.<sup>41</sup>

2) The fragment not only illustrates Philoxenus' gluttony but also the debauched life at the tyrant's court.<sup>42</sup> The following sentence is of special interest: "Dionysius was fond of getting drunk in the company of Philoxenus." Muccioli rightly observes that this portrayal of

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perhaps owing nothing more to Philoxenus than the general story." (quote on p. 141). Nesselrath (1990) 295 thinks that Dionysius' slave may be the speaker.

<sup>40</sup> Arnott (1996) 140–1, following Webster, argues that Philoxenus' poem did not contain an allegorical message. He regards Phaenias' interpretation as a "Peripatetic aberration ... which arose when its originator misconstrued as gospel truth some burlesque on the Athenian comic stage which parodied Philoxenus' poem by identifying the poet as Odysseus, inventing the story of Philoxenus' amour to suit the story in the dithyramb and travestying the short-sighted Dionysius as Polyphemus." (p. 140).

<sup>41</sup> Fr. 32 = 63 Wehrli with Schorn (2011) 218.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Engels (1998) 299.

Dionysius as a drinker contradicts the larger part of the tradition on this man which depicts him as cruel and ruthless but not as a drinker.<sup>43</sup> There are clear hints that the historical Dionysius had no shortcomings in this respect and that this topical character trait of a tyrant was transferred to him only sometime after his death.<sup>44</sup> The same is true for the tradition that makes him devoted to sexual pleasure, which may be implied in the second anecdote. Phaenias seems to have been the first or one of the first authors to depict him as a drinker and possibly as devoted to sexual pleasure.<sup>45</sup> Here I see a philosopher or author at work, who adapts the tyrant to the well-known stereotype, rather than a historian.

3) Engels is right in emphasizing that Stratonikus was only one generation younger than Phaenias.<sup>46</sup> One may add: Philoxenus only two. It is remarkable that the biographical information about two recently deceased poets is already so strongly influenced by legendary traits while nothing speaks against the correctness of Phaenias' general remarks on Stratonikus' role in the history of music. One would rather expect such a phenomenon in the treatment of a life of the distant past.<sup>47</sup>

4) As mentioned above, there is no evidence that Phaenias also wrote in detail about the poets of the Archaic period (leaving aside the limited information on the Lesbian poets inserted into his local chronicle). Thus Leo's assumption that Chamaeleon was the first to undertake a substantial biographical reconstruction of poets such as Alcaeus, Sappho, and others is still valid.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Muccioli (2004) 125.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Schorn (2010) 53–4 with literature in n. 86; McKinlay (1939) remains fundamental.

<sup>45</sup> The latter is the case if the Galateia story is to be interpreted in this sense. It is possible that Dionysius I was represented as a drinker in Theopomp., *FGrHist* 115 fr. 225b and fr. 134; but strictly speaking, Theopompus only claims that he liked to surround himself with drinkers, gamblers and those who led a life of luxury. He does not say that he himself led such a life; see McKinlay (1939) 56.

<sup>46</sup> Engels (1998) 319.

<sup>47</sup> Phaenias is not the only author who could be blamed for that; one may think of Philochorus (*FGrHist* 328 fr. 221), who saw in Eur. fr. 588 Kannicht a reference to the death of Socrates.

<sup>48</sup> Leo (1901) 107.



*On the Socratics* (Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν)

Phaenias is the first author we know of who composed a book *On the Socratics*.<sup>49</sup> For the first time the students of Socrates are treated as a distinct group with their common teacher Socrates as the connecting element.<sup>50</sup> It has often been claimed that in this work Phaenias uses a simple form of *diadoche*,<sup>51</sup> but Zhmud's characterization of it as group portrait seems to describe its character better.<sup>52</sup>

One certain and one assigned text deal with Antisthenes and Aristippus, so that we do not know whether Phaenias also wrote about Socrates' students who did not come to the fore as philosophers. Both fragments can be classified as biographical.

Phaenias (\* ca. 376/3) and his generation were the last to be able to meet at least some of the first generation Socratics at an age when they were already old enough themselves to question them about their life and doctrine.<sup>53</sup> Euclides († probably shortly after 366), Antisthenes († ca. 365), Aeschines (\* 430; † after 357), Aristippus († ca. 355), Xenophon († shortly after 354), Plato († 348/7), and Phaedo (\* 418/6; † ?). At any rate, they could still interview eye-witnesses of all of them. Of two early biographers, contemporaries of Phaenias, we know that they indeed collected information in this way:

Aristoxenus (\* ca. 376/3) collected information for his *Life of Socrates* from his father and/or teacher Spintharus of whom he declares that he had met Socrates in person.<sup>54</sup> For the *Life of Plato* he talked to Dionysius II in Corinth,<sup>55</sup> in the *Elementa Historica* he reports on

<sup>49</sup> The character of the work has been described in different ways: Engels (1998) 317: "*On the Socratics* was probably a collection of anecdotes on or an early collective biography of the Socratics." Wehrli (1969) 38 speaks of "Philosophenbiographien."

<sup>50</sup> Cf. e.g. Bodin (1917) 153; Cooper (1995) 329; Engels (1998) 317 with reference to Mejer (1978) 74–5; Mejer writes on p. 75: "It is worth noticing that the title of Phaenias' work shows that the Socratics were conceived as a group very early."

<sup>51</sup> See Cooper (1995) 329: "perhaps a philosophical διαδοχή" with reference to Leo (1901) 110 and Wehrli (1969) 38.

<sup>52</sup> See Zhmud, in this volume, p. 276–8, for arguments.

<sup>53</sup> The often approximate dates are taken from Döring (1998).

<sup>54</sup> Fr 54a Wehrli. I am summarizing in the following some results of Schorn (2011); cf. Huffman (2011).

<sup>55</sup> Fr. 32 = 63 Wehrli.

Plato's lecture *On the Good* drawing on what Aristotle had told him;<sup>56</sup> he composed a biography of the poet Telestes, his personal acquaintance, and for his account on the last Pythagoreans he made enquiries among the last living members of the school.<sup>57</sup> In his works he mentions these sources by name and so enables the reader to assess the tendency and reliability of the reported facts.

Neanthes of Cyzicus (ca. 360/50–after 274) proceeded in a similar way.<sup>58</sup> He travelled the Greek world and heard from Philip of Opus the latter's version of Plato's death<sup>59</sup> and from the Cynic Philiscus of Aegina the story about Plato's sale into slavery, and why he bore the name Plato.<sup>60</sup> At the time of Phaenias and also later on (one may think, e.g., of Antigonius of Carystus) it was thus not yet uncommon for a biographer to go in search of eyewitnesses. To be sure, that practice does not mean that their biographies only contained correct information. Neanthes got from the Cynic some cock-and-bull stories, nasty inventions that were meant to discredit Plato. But by naming his sources he showed just how serious such reports had to be taken. In addition, he and other biographers made use of written sources about the persons they were portraying. Their biographical method (and that of Antigonius), as far as their use of sources is concerned, is thus in line with that of many historians of their time.

This raises the question: did Phaenias work like this too? The fragments discussed so far should make the reader skeptical. Although Phaenias was the first author of a biographical work titled *On the Socratics*, he was not the first to write about their lives. What written sources was he able to use? We know of a wide range of works on Plato before and at the time of Phaenias, encomiastic, biographical and bio-doxographical works, written by Speusippus, Philip of Opus, Hermodorus, Xenocrates, Erastes, and Asclepiades.<sup>61</sup> Neanthes dedicated a chapter of *On Famous Men* to Plato but is probably a little later than our man. He was some 20 years younger and seems to have

<sup>56</sup> Aristox. *Harm.* 39–40 Da Rios.

<sup>57</sup> Fr. 18, 25, 30 = 49, 31, 43 Wehrli.

<sup>58</sup> I am summarizing some results of Schorn (2007).

<sup>59</sup> Phld. *Hist. Acad.*, PHerc. 1021 col. III 39–V 19 Dorandi (not in *FGrHist*).

<sup>60</sup> Phld. *Hist. Acad.*, PHerc. 1021 col. II 38–III 17 Dorandi; D. L. 3.2 = *FGrHist* 84 fr. 21b (name of Plato).

<sup>61</sup> For details, see Schorn (2007) 119–20.



referred to him for details about the biography of Themistocles.<sup>62</sup> Whether Dicaearchus' work in which he dealt with Plato's life preceded or followed Phaenias, we do not know.<sup>63</sup>

As far as I can see, there were no works on other single Socratics in the time before Phaenias, so he may have been the first author of a biographical work on these men. However, he could draw on biographical information in other genres of literature. I will limit myself to the two Socratics mentioned in the Phaenias fragments.<sup>64</sup> Antisthenes appears as a speaker in Xenophon's *Symposium* where he explains his way of life, and there may have been other philosophical dialogues where he was among the interlocutors. Aristippus was an interlocutor in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and he may have appeared in a dialogue of Aeschines because we know that in one of them it was stated that Aristippus came to Athens because of Socrates' fame.<sup>65</sup> We find scattered pieces of information about Antisthenes' doctrine in Aristotle, and there may have been some biographical data in Aristotle's lost exoteric works. Of Theopompus' *Against the School of Plato* one certain and one assigned fragment on Antisthenes are preserved: he was the only Socratic Theopompus praised, for "he had consummate skill and could by means of agreeable discourse win over whomsoever he pleased."<sup>66</sup> In addition, Theopompus accuses Plato of plagiarizing Antisthenes and Aristippus.<sup>67</sup> It is probable that this pamphlet contained more biographical information on the two Socratics. Attic comedy also provides some contemporary 'biographical' information on Aristippus,<sup>68</sup> whereas Neanthes' *On Famous Men*, in which he spoke about Antisthenes' dress, was probably later than

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Schorn (2007) 141 following Cooper (1995) 325 and Engels (1998) 330.

<sup>63</sup> Dicaearchus fr. 46–51 Mirhady; on Plato in Dicaearchus, see White (2001) esp. 218–28.

<sup>64</sup> The biographical and doxographical tradition on Aristippus in French translation (also with uncertain allusions) in Gouirand (2005); the original texts in *SSR* IV A (Aristippus) and V A (Antisthenes). On the lost works in which Antisthenes was mentioned, see Goulet–Cazé, in: Goulet–Cazé & Hellmann (1994) 245, for those that mentioned Aristippus, see Goulet, in: Caujolle–Zaslowsky, Goulet & Queyrel (1994) 372.

<sup>65</sup> *SSR* IV A 1.1–3 with Dittmar (1912) 60–4.

<sup>66</sup> *FGrHist* 115 fr. 295, transl. by Hicks (1925).

<sup>67</sup> *FGrHist* 115 fr. 259.

<sup>68</sup> On Aristippus, see the fragment of Alexis' *Galateia*, mentioned above, p. 210. On philosophers in comedy in general, see Weiher (1913).

Phaenias' book (s. above).<sup>69</sup> A few decades later Idomeneus' *On the Socratics* and Timon's *Silli* were written.<sup>70</sup> So much for the background. Let us now have a look at the fragments and see where Phaenias got his information.

**11** contains an apothegm of Antisthenes: "When someone asked him (sc. Antisthenes) what he must do to be a good and noble man (καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός), he replied, 'you must learn from those who know that the faults (τὰ κακά) you have are to be avoided.'" Wehrli and Engels see in Antisthenes' words a Cynic re-interpretation of the archaic ideal of *arete*.<sup>71</sup> That is no doubt correct, but I think there is more to be said. In the final analysis, these words contain an epitome of Antisthenes' concept of *arete* and education in one sentence. I cannot go into details here and have to limit myself to some general remarks on Antisthenes' philosophy:<sup>72</sup> He distinguishes between 'human knowledge' and 'human things' on the one hand and 'heavenly knowledge' and 'heavenly things' on the other. Human things like wealth, success, fame etc. are regarded as the aim in life by the common people, and human knowledge serves them to achieve these things. Whoever wants to become wise, however, has to learn that they are worthless.<sup>73</sup> These things and this knowledge are the κακά in our fragment. With the help of heavenly knowledge, i.e. real philosophical knowledge about the nature of things, one can realize this. Whoever becomes wise is independent of others and infallible.<sup>74</sup> This is Antisthenes' idea of καλοκάγαθία. He exemplifies the way that leads to this goal in two dialogues by means of two exemplary heroes: Cyrus the Older and Herakles.<sup>75</sup> Only the content of the *Greater Herakles* can still be reconstructed to some extent: One scene shows a conversation between the protagonist and Chiron, another between him and Prometheus.<sup>76</sup> Chiron and Prometheus are "those who know."

<sup>69</sup> *FGrHist* 84 fr. 24.

<sup>70</sup> Timon fr. 37 Di Marco.

<sup>71</sup> Wehrli (1969) 38; Engels (1998) 318.

<sup>72</sup> I will come back to this topic in a more detailed study. In his discussion of Antisthenes' concept of *arete* and the way to reach it, Brancacci (1990) refers several times to our fragment (= *SSR* V A 172): 97 n. 30; 117 n. 83; 149 n. 5.

<sup>73</sup> See esp. Themist. *de virtute* p. 33 Schantau (*ed. syriac.*) = *SSR* V A 96.

<sup>74</sup> D. L. 6.105 = *SSR* V A 99.

<sup>75</sup> D. L. 6.2 = *SSR* V A 85.

<sup>76</sup> The fragments in *SSR* V A 92–9.



They lead Herakles on the way to wisdom and convince him that what he has done and aimed at so far is futile. In her commentary on the Antisthenes fragments, Decleva Caizzi points out that the apothegm in our fragment is the variant of a saying from the dialogue *Cyrus*, preserved by Arsenius:<sup>77</sup> “When the king Cyrus was asked what the most important knowledge was, he said: ‘To forget the faults (τὰ κακά).’” The message is the same as in our fragment but expressed with different words. Thus our apothegm seems to stem from this dialogue, or the *Greater Herakles*, or another dialogue or treatise on the same topic (if there was one). In any case, it summarizes the fundamental message of the twin dialogues *Cyrus* and *Greater Herakles* in one sentence. Most probably, the words of an interlocutor or the quintessence of a work have been transferred to its author and have, at the same time, been converted into the question and answer pattern that is typical for apothegms—a very well-known phenomenon in antiquity. A substantial part of the philosophers’ apothegms available to us are the result of that process of transformation.<sup>78</sup> So it is not surprising that the same transformation happened to the above-mentioned saying from the *Cyrus*: While Arsenius has preserved the original context with Cyrus as the speaker of the words, in all other authors Antisthenes has taken the place of Cyrus.<sup>79</sup>

What is interesting is that the transfer of the saying to Antisthenes in our fragment and its conversion into the typical pattern took place so early. Antisthenes died around 365; thus he was, like Philoxenus, about two generations older than Phaenias. So we have to realize that an author as early as Phaenias contributed to this ‘personalization’ or ‘biographization’ of philosophical doctrine, which we rather expect in later authors.

<sup>77</sup> Κῦρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἀναγκαιότατον εἴη μάθημα, “τὸ ἀπομαθεῖν,” ἔφη, “τὰ κακά.” Cf. Decleva Caizzi (1966) 126 (on fr. 175 = SSR V A 87 = Arsen. p. 502.13–14). See already Dittmar (1912) 72–3 n. 21: “Phainias ... überliefert ... eine andere Fassung des Gedankens;” cf. 305–6. Wehrli is not explicit in his commentary as for the sources of *On the Socratics*: “Stofflich ist die reiche Literatur der Sokratikerdialoge benützt,” where he may be thinking of 37.

<sup>78</sup> Antisthenes wrote treatises and dialogues, and there is no evidence that he appeared himself in his dialogues as an interlocutor. Thus from whatever work the apothegm may have come, we have to assume that it was converted into the question and answer form that makes it a ‘biographical event.’

<sup>79</sup> Stob. 2.31.34; D. L. 6.7; *Cod. Neapol.* II D 22 n. 9 = SSR V A 87.2–10.

A second fragment (**37**), without indication of the book title, reports that Aristippus charged fees from his students. If we consider that in the same fragment we also read that he was a sophist (σοφιστεύσας), it is surprising that it is generally taken for granted that it belonged to *On the Socratics*, and that nobody seems to have considered that it may come from *Against the Sophists*, all the more as it is clearly polemical<sup>80</sup> against the sophist Aristippus.<sup>81</sup> The source question is not irrelevant. For if we want to assess the credibility of the claims in **37**, it is important to know if it comes from a (possibly) historical or a polemical work.

The designation of Aristippus as a sophist is perfectly in line with Aristotelian thought. In the *Metaphysics*, Aristippus is mentioned among the sophists who reject mathematics.<sup>82</sup> In his study of the use of this term in Aristotle, Classen has shown that the Stagirite does not use it for the thinkers called sophists today, but for Aristippus and some of his own contemporaries who “with their efforts do not strive after recognizing the truth but after reaching a certain goal in life,”<sup>83</sup> and Aristippus did not search for truth as he did not accept mathematics.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore according to Aristotle, sophists intend to make money and try to fool others by pretending to dispose of knowledge they do not have.<sup>85</sup> Thus the reasons why Aristotle calls Aristippus a sophist are that he did not pursue the truth, and that he charged fees and regarded pleasure as the goal in life. More or less contemporary to Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* is Alexis’ *Galateia* where we find the same denomination of Aristippus.<sup>86</sup> It can hardly be regarded as coincidence that for the second time in our study of Phaenias we come across this comedy as an important parallel source. But I do not see how the things may be interrelated.<sup>87</sup> The content of our fragment suggests that

<sup>80</sup> Cf. e.g. Engels (1998) 318–9.

<sup>81</sup> No such consideration in the editions of Müller, Wehrli, Engels (1998) (but differently now **37** n. 1) and Voisin (1824) 40–4.

<sup>82</sup> Aristot. *Metaph.* 3.2 p. 996a30–b1 etc. = SSR IV A 170.

<sup>83</sup> Classen (1986) 210.

<sup>84</sup> Classen (1986) 202.

<sup>85</sup> Classen (1986) 194.

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 210.

<sup>87</sup> More examples for the denomination of Aristippus as a sophist in Mannebach (1961) 93 (on fr. 151); Giannantoni (1990) IV 143–4. The use of the word in Aristotle also explains why Phaenias could call two musicians sophists in *Against the Sophists*; differently Wehrli (1969) 29. Aristotle calls the poet Polyidus a sophist; cf. Kerferd &



for Phaenias charging fees was decisive for calling Aristippus a sophist. The claim that Aristippus only taught students who paid for the classes seems to be correct and is attested by many sources. In all likelihood, already Xenophon alludes to it.<sup>88</sup>

It is somewhat more difficult to establish what else was claimed by Phaenias.<sup>89</sup> When Aristippus is said to have been the *first* Socratic to charge fees, that implies that others did so too. Who may they have been? He cannot possibly have thought of Plato and Xenophon. But about Aeschines and Antisthenes (and maybe later Megarians) we find anecdotes in other authors that imply teachings against payment.<sup>90</sup> If for Phaenias such a practice was enough to identify a philosopher as a sophist and if he had these stories about the two Socratics in mind, his image of the Socratics is likely to have been negative to some extent. He seems to suggest that even Socrates, although he obviously did not demand payment for his teachings, accepted money from his students, as he says: “(Aristippus) was the first Socratic to charge fees (εἰσεπράξατο: aorist) and to send money to his master (ἀπέστειλλε BPF, ἀπέστειλε F; the imperfect is correct).” Is the imperfect *de conatu* or iterative? I think the latter because Phaenias continues: “And *on one occasion* a sum of 20 minae which he had sent was returned to him.” So Phaenias implies that Socrates did accept smaller sums but not a large one. Did he regard him as a sophist too?

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Flashar (1998) 7. Classen (1986) 191 regards it as possible that Aristotle is thinking here of works by Polyidus on literary criticism. In *Against Diodorus* (14) Phaenias calls the sophist Polyxenus the inventor of the argument of the ‘third man.’ He was indeed a travelling sophist, but the denomination has probably to do with his sojourn at the court of Dionysius II. Wehrli (1969) 29 und Cooper (1995) 335, following older research, consider it as possible that *Against Diodorus* was part of *Against the Sophists*.

<sup>88</sup> The fragments have been collected as fr. 3–8 Mannebach (“Aristippum mercede docuisse”) and in *SSR* IV A 1–14 (“De Aristippo Socratis sectatore et mercede docente”). Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.60 = *SSR* IV A 3; it is the *communis opinio* that Xenophon here alludes to Aristippus; see e.g. Mannebach (1961) 65 (on fr. 3–8); Giannantoni (1990) IV 143 (with literature).

<sup>89</sup> Mannebach’s interpretation of the passage (1961) 65; 101–2, which is accepted by Giannantoni (1990) IV 144, is not convincing.

<sup>90</sup> D. L. 2.62 = *SSR* VI A 13.62 (Aeschines); 6.4 and 6.9 = *SSR* V A 169 and 172.9 (Antisthenes); the references are from Döring (1972) 95; (1998) 181; cf. Gigon (1979) 291.

The role of the *daimonion* is no less strange. Socrates declares that it did not allow him to take the 20 minae “as the offer annoyed him (= Socrates).” Obviously, in this situation he uses the *daimonion* as an excuse. Is this meant to cast a negative light on him?<sup>91</sup> I think that such an interpretation would go too far. The fragment is part of the lively discussion of the question how Socrates earned his living, to which also Phaenias’ contemporaries and fellow Peripatetics Aristoxenus and Demetrius of Phaleron contributed.<sup>92</sup> According to my reading of the fragment, Phaenias assessed it positively that Socrates deliberately accepted only small gifts. He must have conceded to Socrates that he had to live on something. So why not on voluntary small donations by his friends? In addition, Phaenias obviously accepted lying for the good cause, as **26** and **30** show.<sup>93</sup> Such a positive interpretation of the text is also in agreement with the general tenor of Aristoxenus’ albeit different story about Socrates’ income. According to him, Socrates deposited money in a bank and lived on the modest interests it yielded.

What can we say about Phaenias’ possible sources and the reliability of his account? Giannantoni has argued that Aristippus’ designation as a sophist and the various anecdotes in our sources that show him and Socrates discussing the question of fees, go back to polemics among the Socratics and that especially Plato and the Academics emphasized this (negative) aspect of Aristippus.<sup>94</sup> Generally such a background is possible, but in our fragment the picture of Socrates does not fit that of Plato and the early Academy. Therefore we should not look in this direction for Phaenias’ source. To me it seems impossible to trace back the source of the story. As for the reliability of Phaenias’ reports, most things we read here sound anecdotal and implausible (Aristippus as a teacher before the death of Socrates, the role of the *daimonion*).

Another fragment of Phaenias (**56B**), again transmitted without book title, is doxographical and sheds a better light on Phaenias as a

<sup>91</sup> The fragment also plays a role in the discussion of the question if Aristippus was active as a teacher before the death of Socrates; see Döring (1998): 248; cf. Zeller (1922) 338.

<sup>92</sup> Aristox. fr. 59 Wehrli with Schorn (2011) 214; Dem. Phal. fr. 95 Wehrli = fr. 102 SOD.

<sup>93</sup> See below, p. 234–7; 238–9; 240.

<sup>94</sup> Giannantoni (1958) 31–2.



historian of philosophy. With reference to Hippys of Rhegium he summarizes the cosmology of the otherwise unknown Petron of Himera.<sup>95</sup> We cannot assign this fragment with any plausibility to a known work of Phaenias. The doxographical interest that it reveals might suggest that *On the Socratics* was bio-doxographical, i.e. that it contained separate doxographical sections. This would not have been exceptional in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>96</sup> However, in **36** doxography has been translated into biography, which makes it probable that questions of doctrine were not treated in separate and systematic sections but were part of the biography where they illustrated the character of the philosopher.

It has been suggested that Phaenias' *On the Socratics* and the homonymous work of the Epicurean Idomeneus, written a few decades later, were somehow related with one another, and some scholars have suspected that Idomeneus' work was directed against Phaenias'.<sup>97</sup> And indeed, it was polemical. We can still recognize attacks on Socrates, Plato, and Aeschines.<sup>98</sup> Unfortunately, there are no direct points of contact between the fragments of the two works, so the question has to remain open if the later author reacted to the earlier one. But the fact that the later homonymous work was polemical should remind us of the possibility that this may also have been the case with Phaenias' work. If **37** comes from it, it did contain at least an attack on Aristippus.

### Fragments on Themistocles, Solon and tyrants

The provenance of the fragments on Solon and Themistocles is unknown, and they have been claimed for various works: *The Prytaneis*

<sup>95</sup> Fr. 12 Wehrli = *FGrHist* 554 F 5 = **56B**. Wehrli prints the fragment among those of *On the Tyrants of Sicily*; Müller, *FHG* II 300 fr. 22 thought of a more comprehensive work *On Philosophers* of which *On the Socratics* was a part.

<sup>96</sup> On bio-doxographical works, see Schorn (2013).

<sup>97</sup> E.g. Bignone (1973) I 445 n. 136; contra Angeli (1981a) 57–8 with n. 227.

<sup>98</sup> Socrates and Aeschines as teachers of rhetoric (fr. 24; cf. fr. 25 Angeli); Aeschines, not Crito advised Socrates to escape from prison; Plato is lying because Aeschines was a friend of Aristippus (fr. 26–7 Angeli); Aeschines is not the author of the dialogues under his name; they were written by Socrates and given to him by Xanthippe (fr. 26 & 28 Angeli); thus Aeschines was as plagiarist; originally, such a claim could have had a positive bias: Aeschines presents the 'real Socrates,' cf. Döring (1998) 203.

of *Eresos*,<sup>99</sup> an unattested historical work,<sup>100</sup> an unattested *Atthis*, monographs on/biographies of both statesmen,<sup>101</sup> an unattested book *On Ways of Life* (Περὶ βίωv),<sup>102</sup> an unattested book on tyrants, an excursus in *On the Tyrants of Sicily*,<sup>103</sup> and *Against the Sophists*.<sup>104</sup> It is hopeless to try to find an answer to this question. Cooper aptly reminds us that we only learn from one passage that the biographical fragments of Neanthes on Themistocles come from his *Hellenica*.<sup>105</sup> If this one fragment were not preserved, we would probably have claimed all these texts for his *On Famous Men*. And I should like to add that the biographical treatment of Pythagoras by the same Neanthes was included in *Myths according to Cities*.<sup>106</sup> This shows that in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., biographical accounts were more often parts of larger works than independent books. As regards Themistocles in Phaenias, one has the impression that the work in question contained the major part of the information one would need to write his biography.<sup>107</sup>

Cooper proposed an interesting interpretation of the texts on Solon and Themistocles.<sup>108</sup> As a starting point he takes chapter 2.6 of Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, the work that has preserved most fragments of Phaenias on Themistocles. There we read that Themistocles was the disciple/admirer (ζηλωτήν) of Mnesiphilus. This Mnesiphilus "was neither a rhetorician nor one of the so-called physical philosophers, but a cultivator of what was then called 'sophia' or wisdom (...). Mnesiphilus received this 'sophia', and handed it down, as though it were the doctrine of a sect, in unbroken tradition from Solon (ὥσπερ αἵρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος). His successors blended it with forensic arts, and shifted its application from public affairs to

<sup>99</sup> Müller, *FHG* II 294–7; *contra* Cooper (1995) 325. The list in the following is from Cooper; cf. Engels (1998) 328.

<sup>100</sup> Müller, *FHG* II 293.

<sup>101</sup> Leo (1901) 110 (*Atthis* or monographs); Bodin (1915 & 1917) (biography of Themistocles).

<sup>102</sup> Wehrli (1969) 34 only as one possibility among others.

<sup>103</sup> Podlecki (1975) 104.

<sup>104</sup> Cooper (1995) 329–35; I am discussing Cooper's interpretation below.

<sup>105</sup> Cooper (1995) 325–6 and already Bodin (1917) 152–3.

<sup>106</sup> On that and the consequences for the history of biography, see Schorn (2007) 132–5.

<sup>107</sup> See Leo (1901) 110; Engels (1998) 328; Muccioli (2008) 463.

<sup>108</sup> Cooper (1995).



language, and were dubbed ‘sophists (σοφισταί).’”<sup>109</sup> In another work, Plutarch makes it explicit that he regards Mnesiphilus as a *direct* student of Solon.<sup>110</sup> Cooper thinks that Phaenias was Plutarch’s source for the *diadoche* Solon–Mnesiphilus–Themistocles–sophists, and he ascribes this text and all fragments on Themistocles, transmitted by this biography, to *Against the Sophists*.<sup>111</sup> He conjectures that Phaenias presented Solon, a politician of the old days, as a real politician in analogy to the old musicians Terpander and Phrynis who were real and good musicians. For in the only certain fragment of *Against the Sophists* (15) these two musicians are contrasted with two new and bad ones, Telenicus and Argas. Thus he concludes that Phaenias conceived a development “from the practical wisdom of Solon to the sophistry of Themistocles and later sophists.”<sup>112</sup> If Cooper is right, we have to regard Phaenias as an author whose description of historical figures was strongly influenced by his philosophical conceptions.

I see, however, some problems with this reconstruction:

1) Plutarch does not reveal his source for this chapter, whereas in several other places he explicitly states that he is following Phaenias. Why not here?

2) The word ‘sophist’, which one would expect in such an argument, does not appear in Phaenias’ fragments on Solon and Themistocles.

3) The chronology of the *diadoche* Solon–Mnesiphilus–Themistocles is highly problematic.<sup>113</sup> In 27 Phaenias gives the archonship of Hegestratos (560/59) as the date of Solon’s death. So if Mnesiphilus was a student of Solon, he can hardly have been the teacher of Themistocles, especially as Plutarch declares that he was Themistocles’ advisor when the latter was already active as a politician. It was a generally known fact that Mnesiphilus was still alive in 480 when the battle of Salamis took place, and Frost refers to ostraca that bear his

<sup>109</sup> Plu. *Them.* 2.6, trans. Perrin (1914) (and in the following).

<sup>110</sup> Plut. *Conv. sept. sap.* 154c: Μνησίφιλος δ’ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἑταῖρος ὄν καὶ ζηλωτῆς Σόλωνος.

<sup>111</sup> Cooper (1995) 334.

<sup>112</sup> Cooper (1995) 334.

<sup>113</sup> On the chronological issues, see Frost (1980) 68; Piccirilli (1983) 227 (he thinks of Theophrastus as the author of the *diadoche*); Muccioli (2008) 466–7.

name and probably date from 487/6.<sup>114</sup> It is difficult to believe that a chronographer like Phaenias, whom we know to have dealt with the chronology of Solon, should not have realized or should have accepted the anachronism for reasons of argument.

4) Another problem regards the image of the two Athenians in Phaenias. They are characterized in the same manner: Solon lies in order to save Athens from internal strife, and Themistocles lies, black-mails, and acts in a way improper under normal circumstances to save first Greece and later himself when he is wronged by his fellow Athenians. Both use rhetoric and lies to attain their legitimate goals. Thus the fragments are in conflict with the theory of degeneration.

5) In **28** Phaenias discusses the etymology of *kyrbeis*. That does not point to a polemical work but rather to a work with a more general interest in the Athenian and his work.

6) Phaenias' image of Themistocles is not as negative as has often been thought. This will be set forth in detail in the following.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>114</sup> On the disputed role of Mnesiphilus as an adviser of Themistocles at the battle of Salamis, see Hdt. 8.57–8. The identification of our Mnesiphilus with the man on the ostraca cannot be doubted since the ostraca also mention his demotic; cf. Frost (1980) 68; Piccirilli (1983) 227.

<sup>115</sup> There are more problems: 1) "His [= Phaenias'] list of 'political sophists' may have culminated with Themistocles, whose political skill had less to do with good deeds and more to do with persuasive speech and sophistry." (334): But Themistocles was a man of action as well, and his role at the battle of Salamis can be regarded as a "good deed." He used rhetoric only as a means to reach his goals. 2) I do not totally understand the position of Themistocles in Cooper's *diadoche*. According to Plutarch, Mnesiphilus was succeeded by the sophists. That means that he does not include Themistocles in this *diadoche* at all. Was Themistocles also a sophist ("political sophistry" 334; "the sophistry of Themistocles" 334) or their precursor ("a genuine precursor of the sophists" 334)? Plutarch does not call him a sophist, and as I read the text, only the sophists and not yet Themistocles "blended it (scil. the σοφία of Mnesiphilus) with forensic arts, and shifted its application from public affairs to language, and were dubbed 'sophists.'" Thus Themistocles is not the link between Mnesiphilus and the sophists but stands outside the *diadoche* Solon–Mnesiphilus–sophists. If we want to include him, he is, as a student of Mnesiphilus, a parallel figure to the sophists, but one who has taken over from Mnesiphilus his genuine doctrine, the one not yet spoiled by the sophists. 3) About the younger, 'sophistical' poets in **15**, Cooper states: "A decline is obviously imagined here from true μουσικοί of the past to mere σοφιστῶν of the present, who can reproduce songs only mechanically." But according to Phaenias these younger poets also composed songs, just bad ones.



In conclusion: although the *diadoche* in Plutarch may be of Peripatetic origin, there is nothing that speaks for, but much that speaks against Phaenias as its author.<sup>116</sup>

Almost everything we read in Phaenias about Solon and Themistocles are singular pieces of information, attested by no other source, or at least versions that are not in accordance with the *communis opinio* in antiquity. However, we should not conclude from this that Phaenias' work was a collection of curios. In general, authors only name their sources when these differ from the *koine historia*, not when they report generally accepted stories, so that, in the case of fragmentary authors, the exceptional outnumbers the conventional. What does surprise, however, is that the majority of modern scholars regard hardly any of Phaenias' singular reports as correct: They accept the chronology in **27** (starting date of Pisistratus' tyranny in the archonship of Comeas; death of Solon in the archonship of Hegestratus). They reject as unhistorical:

- 26** (Solon deceives the Athenian parties)
- 29** (name and provenance of Themistocles' mother)
- 30** (Themistocles outwits Architeles before the battle of Salamis)
- 31** (human sacrifice before the battle of Salamis)
- 32** (conversation between Themistocles and Artabanus)
- 34** (number of cities Themistocles received from the Persian king).<sup>117</sup>

Recently however, some scholars have accepted one of those reports each as historical: **26**, **29**, **30** (the chronology), **31** and **34**. If each of them is right, Phaenias reemerges as a highly reliable but so far generally misjudged historian; if the *communis opinio* proves to be correct, as an extremely untrustworthy one.<sup>118</sup> Thus we have to

<sup>116</sup> Leão (2003–4) 58 agrees with Cooper. Muccioli (2008) 466–8 is more cautious and only speaks of a Peripatetic origin of the *diadoche*.

<sup>117</sup> I leave aside **28** (etymology of kyrbeis), **33** (imitators of Themistocles at the Persian court; here not all information seems to be correct; see Engels [1998] 339–41; Muccioli [2008] 474); **35** (etymology of Kerykes: all family trees of the Kerykes are later constructs. Phaenias' version corresponds to the version propagated by the members of the clan, not to the *communis opinio*; see Toepffer [1889: 81] with reference to Paus. 1.38.3; Wehrli [1969] 37; Engels [1998] 342–3).

<sup>118</sup> Cf. e.g. Podlecki (1975) 104: "It must have been full of bizarre and even hair-raising details ... details were invented to give semblance, rather than the substance, of truth."

investigate first the historicity of his descriptions, and in a second step we can try to determine his tendency and his image of Themistocles. As far as the latter question is concerned, the *communis opinio* can be found in Engels' commentary: "P[hainias] regarded Themistokles as an ambivalent character. He acknowledged his intelligence, his military genius, his strategic and diplomatic skills (...) his rhetorical power and ready wit as well as his personal courage in seeking a place of refuge with his Persian enemies. But at the same time he emphasized some faults of character or sinister and ambiguous aspects of Themistocles"<sup>119</sup> (i.e. taking bribes, blackmailing, participating in a human sacrifice, deserting the Greeks and being a pro-Persian tyrant). He concludes that Themistocles "was no example for P[hainias'] readers to imitate." Cooper's assessment is similar,<sup>120</sup> whereas Muccioli's contribution amounts to a rehabilitation of Themistocles in Phaenias. He focuses on Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* and concludes that his assessment of Themistocles is generally positive. Despite all "chiaroscuro," Plutarch regards him as an "exemplary character," as the hero who saved Greece and acquired fame despite the envy of the Athenians.<sup>121</sup> Although Plutarch elsewhere disapproves of the kind of actions he reports with reference to Phaenias, in the case of Themistocles they are always interpreted in favor of the hero and justified as necessary for the good cause. For most of these actions, Muccioli concludes that Phaenias also interpreted them in a positive way. So let us have a closer look at the single fragments to see which interpreter is right. I will limit myself to discussing the fragments that seem to me most pertinent.

**29:** The ancient sources are in disagreement as to the name and origin of Themistocles' mother. Therefore Engels concludes that no reliable information was available to ancient historians. According to Amphicrates (*FHG* IV 300; I B.C.), she was a Thracian hetaera called Habrotonon, a version that almost certainly goes back to a joke in

<sup>119</sup> Engels (1998) 328–9.

<sup>120</sup> "A common thread throughout the fragments of Phaenias, is Themistocles' ability to win over opposition to his own end" (...) "His (scil. Phaenias') list of 'political sophists' may have culminated with Themistocles, whose political skill had less to do with good deeds and more to do with persuasive speech and sophistry." Cooper (1995) 330 & 334.

<sup>121</sup> See Muccioli (2008) 465 and *passim* on the following. My own analysis is much indebted to Muccioli's.



comedy.<sup>122</sup> Nepos (perhaps drawing on Ephorus) transmits that she was a citizen from Acarnania,<sup>123</sup> and finally according to Phaenias she was a Carian named Euterpe. It is generally and correctly assumed that Neanthes quoted Phaenias (as he did in **34**) and added the name of the city, Halicarnassus.<sup>124</sup> Although having a foreign mother is not a glorious chapter in the life of an Athenian politician,<sup>125</sup> there is no need to regard all these traditions as hostile towards Themistocles. It was just the *communis opinio* (and possibly correct) that his mother was no Athenian. The epigram quoted by Amphicrates shows that the fact could be interpreted in a positive way: although a Thracian, she was the mother of the great Themistocles. I cannot see anything negative in Phaenias' version. It is significant that he has her come from Asia Minor, i.e. from a region near his homeland Lesbos, so he might have followed a local tradition. As there was no consensus about her provenance, it is not unlikely that many places claimed the honor of being her homeland. Neanthes' testimony may also be seen as pointing to this interpretation, as we know that he was especially keen on collecting local traditions.<sup>126</sup>

Recently, Nollé and Wenninger have advocated the correctness of Phaenias' and Neanthes' version. They do not believe that it was by chance that Arataxerxes made Themistocles the lord of Magnesia in Caria. If his mother really was a Hellenized Carian, that was indeed a clever move.<sup>127</sup> But it may as well have been the other way round, i.e. that the origin of the mother was localized in this area in order to explain why the Persian king chose this place. There are no strong

<sup>122</sup> On the tradition, see Bicknell (1982) (not always convincing); some of the results in the following can already be found in Schorn (2007) 141–2; cf. Engels (1998) 329–30. On Amphicrates, see Bicknell (1982) 166–7.

<sup>123</sup> Nep. *Them.* 1.2; for Ephorus as his possible source, see Bicknell (1982) 169. Bradley (1967/1991) 9–10; 33 is cautious but also tends towards Ephorus as Nepos' source in this chapter.

<sup>124</sup> Thus Cooper (1995) 330; Engels (1998) 330; Schorn (2007) 141 (with further bibliography). Some scholars have tried to solve the problem with the help of conjectures: Bicknell (1982) thinks that the mother was not Carian but came from Cardia on the Thracian Chersonese; Lewis (1983) 245 conjectures that she came from Agora (on the basis of Plut. *Amat.* 753e: ἐξ ἀγορᾶς).

<sup>125</sup> See also Engels (1998) 329–30, who remarks in addition that all the places named were not very prestigious.

<sup>126</sup> On Neanthes' method of collecting information, see Schorn (2007).

<sup>127</sup> Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9) 56–61.

arguments in favor or against Phaenias' and Neanthes' version, so that the question has to remain open for now.

**34:** According to Thucydides and most other sources, Themistocles was given three cities by the Persian king for his aliment:<sup>128</sup> Magnesia for bread, Lampsacus for wine, and Myus for fish. Phaenias and Neanthes (again!) list in addition Percote and Palaescepsis for bedding and clothes. Athenaeus also names these five cities, but without an indication of source, and adds that the king ordered Themistocles to wear only Persian dress, and gave him as a sixth city, Gambrium, for his clothing.<sup>129</sup> This last tradition is almost certainly unhistorical and will remain out of consideration in the following.<sup>130</sup> For Magnesia, Themistocles' place of residence, his rule is attested by coins. That he received the revenues of Lampsacus, perhaps without being its ruler, is shown by a 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. inscription that mentions a festival in his honor.<sup>131</sup> The correctness of the tradition on Myus has also not been challenged, although in this case documentary evidence is lacking. Most scholars reject Phaenias' and Neanthes' testimony.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Thuc. 1.138.5; additional sources in Engels (1998) 341 n. 221.

<sup>129</sup> Ath. 1.29f (no source indicated because from the epitome). It is remarkable that this passage is preceded by a fragment of Phaenias (**45**; no work title mentioned) on the cultivation of wine in Mende. We are here in a section on wine, and it is possible that Athenaeus gave two excerpts from Phaenias, one after the other, and that the epitomator omitted Phaenias' name the second time. But then, what about Gambrium, which Phaenias and Neanthes did not mention according to Plutarch? Either Plutarch is wrong (which is improbable) or the Phaenias fragment in Athenaeus stops with ἱματισμόν, and is followed by further information that Athenaeus has found elsewhere.

<sup>130</sup> At that time Gambrium was under the rule of Gongylus of Eretria who is likely to have received its revenues; see Piccirilli (1983) 279. Keaveney (2003) 73–4 rejects the tradition on Gambrium although he regards it as possible that part of the revenues could have been given to Themistocles. Cagnazzi (2001) 48–9 accepts the tradition since Themistocles is represented on coins wearing a Persian dress. This hardly proves such an *order*.

<sup>131</sup> Coins: Nollé (1996); Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9); inscription: *I. Lampsakos* 3; cf. e.g. Piccirilli (1983) 279–80; Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9) 50–1. I will not discuss here the question if Lampsacus and Myus were members of the Delian League; on that see Keaveney (2003) 75–87.

<sup>132</sup> Against historicity: Podlecki (1975) 104; Lenardon (1978) 149; Engels (1998) 341–2; Keaveney (2003) 73–4; Marr (1998) 155; for historicity: Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988); Piccirilli (1983): 278–9 (implicitly); Briant (1985) 58 & 60; Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9): 30 n. 4.



The strongest argument against the historicity of their version is the silence of Thucydides.<sup>133</sup> In addition, the passage from Athenaeus shows that this list (as others) tended to be expanded.<sup>134</sup> It might speak for the correctness of the Phaenias tradition that we know from other sources that the Persian king did indeed donate cities in order to provide clothes, but a clever falsifier could also have been aware of this.<sup>135</sup> Again, the absence of the two cities in Thucydides may be accounted for by the fact that they were small and brought in insignificant revenues, and therefore, the historian may not have considered them worth mentioning.<sup>136</sup> They are both located in the Troad near Lampsacus and one source even speaks of Percote as being situated on the territory of Lampsacus.<sup>137</sup> So one may argue that Thucydides has limited himself to mentioning the principal town of the Troad. The Troad is located onshore opposite Lesbos, and there is no reason to doubt that Phaenias was familiar with this area. If this were not a matter of course, one could point to **40** in which Phaenias mentions the use of soil for the cure of eye diseases in Eresus and the area of Neandria in the Troad. It is thus possible that in **34** Phaenias transmits local traditions. Needless to say that this does not imply that those were necessarily historically correct.<sup>138</sup> People were proud of Themistocles' presence, as our sources prove for Magnesia and Lampsacus. So they remembered having been part of his fiefdom – or may have

<sup>133</sup> The arguments of Keaveney (2003) 73–4 are not compelling.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Marr (1998) 155; Engels (1998) 342 thinks that Phaenias “wanted to improve this authoritative narrative by giving additional detail.”

<sup>135</sup> See e.g. Xen. *An.* 1.4.9; Hdt. 2.98.1 with Briant (1985); Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1988); 373; Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9) 52–6; cf. Marr (1994).

<sup>136</sup> Thus Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9) 30 n. 4; their second argument is less convincing: “Vielleicht gab es auch ideologische Vorbehalte gegen die Vorstellung, Themistokles habe persische Kleidung getragen.” In this case one would expect to find this argument in the extensive anti-Themistoclean tradition.

<sup>137</sup> *Schol. Hom. Il.* 11.229; be that as it may, Percote was the neighboring city of Lampsacus; the tribute paid by Percote as a member of the Delian League was small, which shows its insignificance; cf. Ruge (1937) 863. Palaescepsis was south of Lampsacus and not situated on its territory. On the difficulty of localizing it and the possible existence of two cities of this name, see Radt (2008) 495–6 with reference to Cook (1973) 302–4.

<sup>138</sup> We do not know if Neanthes agreed with Phaenias after having checked his claim on location (as he often did) or only reported Phaenias' tradition (which in later tradition became “Neanthes and Phainias say”).

invented this to spice up the history of their city.<sup>139</sup> So here too, we cannot decide for sure whether our author is correct, but the arguments against historicity seem to be somewhat better founded.

If any bias is to be detected in **34**, it is likely to be sympathy for Themistocles: he was held in even greater honor by the king than according to the classical report of Thucydides.

**31**: Phaenias is the only author to claim that before the battle of Salamis three noble Persians, sons of Xerxes' sister Sandake, were sacrificed to Dionysus Omestes. The enraged Athenian mariners are said to have forced Themistocles to carry out such a sacrifice against his will, as the prophet Euphrantides had demanded it on account of a divine sign. The historicity of this event is contested by the majority of scholars mainly for three reasons:<sup>140</sup>

1) Aeschylus and Herodotus do not mention it.

2) According to Plu. *Arist.* 9.2 the three Persians were caught on the island of Psyttaleia, an island that was conquered only after the battle, as Aeschylus and Herodotus report.<sup>141</sup>

3) Several details of the sacrifice are in disagreement with Greek cult practice, and it is incomprehensible why the Persians should have been sacrificed to Dionysus Omestes, a god not worshipped in Athens, but incidentally in Phaenias' homeland Lesbos.

The latter point deserves more attention. Ancient authors believed in human sacrifices in the cult of Dionysus Omestes or Omadios.<sup>142</sup> Euelpis of Carystus, an author of uncertain date, relates that on Chios and Tenedos men were dismembered in honor of Dionysus Omadios in the past (ἐθνον: imperfect, thus regularly).<sup>143</sup> When Aelian speaks of the sacrifice of a calf for Dionysus Anthroporraistes on Chios that was regarded as a substitute for a human sacrifice, he probably refers to the same cult.<sup>144</sup> For Lesbos, Alcaeus attests a common cult of

<sup>139</sup> On the 'afterlife' of Themistocles in Magnesia until Imperial times, see Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9).

<sup>140</sup> See Henrichs (1980) 210–24; cf. Engels (1998) 333–4; Graf (1985) 74–80; Hughes (1991) 111–5. Bonnechere (1994) 288–93 remains undecided.

<sup>141</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 441–64; Hdt. 8.95; cf. Henrichs (1980) 210–1 with n. 1.

<sup>142</sup> On the following, see Graf (1985) 74–80.

<sup>143</sup> Euelpis, *FHG* IV 408 = Porph. *Abst.* 2.55.

<sup>144</sup> Ael. *NA* 12.43; this interpretation in Henrichs (1980) 222 with n. 6 and esp. Graf (1985) 77.



Dionysus Omestes, Zeus and Aeolian Hera.<sup>145</sup> This must refer to the sanctuary of the Lesbian amphictiony in Massa. Graf rightly associates the report of a certain Dosiadas, who probably lived in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., with this cult. He claims that on Lesbos humans are sacrificed to Dionysus (προσάγειν ... λέγει, i.e. at his time).<sup>146</sup> Thus even some 100 years after Phaenias, at least one author believed in the existence of such sacrifices on Lesbos. Graf and others, however, rightly exclude the existence of an institutionalized human sacrifice as part of this cult in historical times. Rather there must have been a sacrifice that was interpreted as its substitute.<sup>147</sup>

Following Henrichs, Graf thus concludes that Phaenias has transferred an element of a cult from his island to the Themistocles legend.<sup>148</sup> Engels, too, speaks of an invention by Phaenias, but one for which the planned but not executed human sacrifice before the battle of Leuctra may have served as a model.<sup>149</sup> The arguments adduced recently by Grünewald in favor of the historicity of the event rather expose the fiction, above all the fact that Themistocles is depicted in a similar way as Agamemnon in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*.<sup>150</sup> This can be regarded as a hint that this tragedy served as a source of inspiration for our story. The fact that the terminology of sacrifice in Phaenias is more literary than taken from actual cult practice, and seems to show influence of tragic diction, also points in this direction.<sup>151</sup>

Interpreters differ about the reasons for the invention and its function within Phaenias' account. Laqueur speaks of hostility towards

<sup>145</sup> Alcaeus fr. 129.9 Lobel & Page.

<sup>146</sup> Dosiadas, *FGrHist* 458 fr. 7; cf. Graf (1985) 76; on the date of Dosiadas, see Jacoby's introduction to his commentary on Dosiadas (p. 330–1), and now Bertelli's, 'Biographical Essay' in *BNJ* 458. For the identification of the cult in Alcaeus with that in the sanctuary of the amphictiony, see Graf (1985) 75 n. 15.

<sup>147</sup> Graf (1985) 77. Graf does not address the problem that Dosiadas uses the present tense. Henrichs (1980) 223–4: "It follows that the worship of Dionysos the Raw-Eater was restricted to the earliest periods of Greek religion, and regionally confined to Lesbos and two adjacent islands." It is possible that Dosiadas made a mistake and spoke of human sacrifice in his own time although only substitution sacrifices were brought. Something similar we find in the tradition on the cult of Zeus Lykaeos.

<sup>148</sup> Henrichs (1980) 221–3; Graf (1985) 76.

<sup>149</sup> Engels (1998) 335–6.

<sup>150</sup> Grünewald (2001).

<sup>151</sup> That was seen by Henrichs (1980) 239.

Themistocles without going into details.<sup>152</sup> Wehrli wants to discover a link with Themistocles' sojourn in Persia. The mother of the slaughtered men, the king's sister, tried in vain to take vengeance on Themistocles, as we learn from Diod. 11.57.1. The story of the sacrifice is thus thought to have had the function of showing "what resistances had to be overcome before the conciliation of the Persian king and his former enemy."<sup>153</sup> For Engels, Phaenias presents Themistocles as a man "who at the moment of crisis gives way to the brutal and irrational emotions of the masses. Although Themistocles disdained the barbarian practice ... he is unable to prevent such a cruel ritual."<sup>154</sup> But Engels also emphasizes that the initiative was taken by the prophet. Henrichs sees a pro-Themistoclean tendency in the story. It "was designed to illustrate the humanity of Themistocles, who opposed it (...), and the depravity of the Athenian mob who carried it out."<sup>155</sup> Muccioli argues that the impossibility to prevent the sacrifice legitimized Themistocles' behavior in the eyes of Plutarch and probably also of Phaenias. Thus, here again, he does not detect a hostile attitude towards Themistocles.<sup>156</sup>

Muccioli also discusses the religious aspects of the sacrifice as far as Plutarch is concerned. Plutarch speaks of an irrational act of the people, "as so often happens at moments of crisis." This explanation seems to be an addition by Plutarch to the story, as it reflects a typical Plutarchean pattern of thought.<sup>157</sup> Muccioli emphasizes Plutarch's uncertainty regarding the necessity and effectiveness of human sacrifices. On the one side, he detests them as barbarian, on the other side, he is uncertain whether, when executed on demand of a higher being, they sometimes lead to the desired effect, or not. Plutarch tends to

<sup>152</sup> Laqueur (1938) 1577.

<sup>153</sup> Wehrli (1969) 35: "Diese Erzählung (scil. in Diodorus) ist eine Variante derjenigen des Ph[ainias] und will wie jene zeigen, welche Widerstände bei der Aussöhnung zwischen dem Perserkönig und seinem einstigen Feinde zu überwinden waren." Wehrli is followed by Cooper (1995) 330–1.

<sup>154</sup> Engels (1998) 333.

<sup>155</sup> Henrichs (1980) 215 n. 1.

<sup>156</sup> Muccioli (2008) 472; still another interpretation in Hughes (1991) 114–5: "Thus I am inclined to agree with Peter Green, who attributes the story to 'an anonymous Athenian propagandist'. A story first designed to attack Themistocles was later converted artfully by Phaenias to illustrate his humanity." (p. 115).

<sup>157</sup> On the Plutarchean character of this idea, see Muccioli (2008) 471–2 with references.



admit the influence of evil demons to whom such sacrifices have to be brought, and Dionysus, as Muccioli points out, is a demon and not a god for Plutarch.<sup>158</sup> This interpretation seems to me fully convincing.

Muccioli, however, does not address the question how Phaenias may have assessed the religious aspects of the sacrifice. And indeed, we do not know anything from other sources about Phaenias' views on human sacrifice. We are better informed about those of his friend and fellow Peripatetic Theophrastus. In *On Piety*, Theophrastus opposes them as aberrations in the cult of the gods. However, the human sacrifices he discusses there are different from the one in Phaenias. They are first fruit offerings to the gods of what serves as food. Unfortunately we ignore what he thought about such sacrifices for demons. But we do not know anyway whether Phaenias regarded Dionysus as a demon; he probably did not, as Dionysus was one of the three major deities of the island. Roughly contemporary with Theophrastus and Phaenias is a fragment of Asclepiades of Samos in which he describes a human sacrifice in Syria in early times as a sacrifice that had to be performed of necessity.<sup>159</sup> The idea that a higher being may demand such a sacrifice is thus not alien to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. All this evidence does not help much, and the only key to Phaenias' assessment of this sacrifice is the text of the fragment under discussion. It is the identity of the deity to whom the men are sacrificed that makes it unlikely that Phaenias wanted to discredit Themistocles by this story. We have here an invented story, found in an author from Lesbos, in which one of the main gods of his island demands a human sacrifice according to the interpretation of the prophet. Since Phaenias does not claim that the prophet misinterpreted the divine sign, the sacrifice obviously led to the desired result, and the Greeks were not punished by the gods for committing such a horrible deed, in Phaenias' view, Dionysus really must have ordered it, and the interpretation of the sign by Euphrantides must have been correct. In this reading, the Lesbian god becomes the helper of the Greeks, and as such responsible, and maybe even exclusively responsible for the Greek victory. It should not be seen as a negative point that Themistocles did not realize the necessity of the sacrifice himself. His resistance is meant to show his humanity, as Henrichs rightly notes. It

<sup>158</sup> Muccioli (2008) 472–3.

<sup>159</sup> Asclepiades, *FGrHist* 752 fr. 1; with Schorn (2009).

is striking that Phaenias (or only Plutarch?) does not make it explicit that the Persians were slaughtered and burnt. He only states that the sacrifice was carried out,<sup>160</sup> which plays down the active role of Themistocles. This too, points to a positive assessment of Themistocles in this situation.

In conclusion: The story seems to be an invention of Lesbian provenance with the intention to claim a contribution of their god to the Greek victory.<sup>161</sup> Themistocles appears as humane, but submitting to necessity. Here as in the following story, one of his main characteristics becomes visible: he has a goal that he wants to reach at all costs. Thus he is disposed to do things that are normally unacceptable. He could not oppose the Athenian mob, so he had to carry out the sacrifice. Otherwise he would not have been able to put his strategy into action. I have no doubt that Phaenias regarded the victory of the Greeks over the Persians as a goal that justified such an extraordinary measure.

**30:** The story of Themistocles' bribing and blackmailing Architeles has almost certainly been invented on the basis of elements in Herodotus and Thucydides: one is the bribery of the Spartan Eurybiades and the Corinthian Adimantus in the same historical situation in Herodotus,<sup>162</sup> the other is the blackmailing of the captain of the ship that carried Themistocles on his flight to Asia in Thucydides.<sup>163</sup> Thus Phaenias' version combines elements of two classical accounts in order to create a new story that is more spectacular than the existing tradition. In addition, some anachronisms reveal the forgery.<sup>164</sup>

The main problem with this story, however, is to establish what exactly Phaenias reported. In Herodotus, the Euboeans fail to convince the Spartan Eurybiades, the commander-in-chief of the Greek sea

<sup>160</sup> See Engels (1998) 333.

<sup>161</sup> Engels (1998) 333: perhaps from Ctesias' *Persica*.

<sup>162</sup> Hdt. 8.4–5; Engels (1998) 330: "P[hainias] probably invented the second story about Themistokles and Architeles as an elaboration (or as a double) of the well-known story in Herodotos about Eurybiades and Themistokles." Cf. Wehrli (1969) 35: "eine noch reicher ausgeschmückte Parallele zu der von Herodot VIII 5 erzählten Bestechung des Eurybiades und des Korinthers Adeimantos." Against the historicity of Phaenias' story also Podlecki (1975) 104; Marr (1998) 89.

<sup>163</sup> Thuc. 1.137.2; cf. Plu. *Them.* 25.2.

<sup>164</sup> On the terms 'trierarch', 'sacred state trireme' and the payments for the mariners, see Frost (1980) 107; Marr (1998) 89.



forces, to fight at Artemisium as he wants to withdraw to the Peloponnese out of fear of the enormous number of the Persian ships. At this moment Eurybiades has not yet been notified about the plan of the Persians to surround the Greeks. To save their island, the Euboeans bribe Themistocles with 30 talents, and Themistocles, for his part, bribes Eurybiades with five talents. When the Corinthian commander Adimantus still refuses to fight, he too receives a bribe of three talents from Themistocles. The rest of the Euboean money he keeps for himself. In *De Herodoti malignitate*, Plutarch protests against the claim that the Greeks would have planned to flee and only fought because of the Euboean money.<sup>165</sup> Piccirilli and Muccioli argue that in the *Life of Themistocles* Plutarch reports first Herodotus' version according to which Themistocles bribed Eurybiades, but then chooses that of Phaenias as it is less hostile against Themistocles.<sup>166</sup> The problem with this reading is that Plutarch does not oppose Herodotus' story in this chapter and does not show any preference for Phaenias either. Let us have a closer look at the structure of the passage. Having stated that Themistocles, by leaving the command to the Spartans, seems to have done more to save Greece than anyone else, he speaks about Eurybiades' fear and intention to retreat to the Peloponnese. Contrary to Herodotus, in whose report Eurybiades' main incentive is fear, here the Spartan has a very good reason to be terrified and to sail away as he is informed about the Persian strategy to surround the Greeks. When the Euboeans hear about his plans they send Themistocles "large sums of money" which he hands on completely to Eurybiades. That, as Plutarch states, is reported by Herodotus. But his claim is only true for the main line of the story. The biographer has changed it in two important respects:<sup>167</sup> First, Eurybiades has a good reason for retreat, and second, Themistocles does not keep any of the bribe

<sup>165</sup> Plu. *De Her. mal.* 867b–c; cf. Frost (1980) 106

<sup>166</sup> Piccirilli (1983) 240–1: "secondo Plutarco, Temistocle, ricevuto il denaro dall'euboico Pelagonte, lo fece accettare con un'inganno ad Architele ... non c'è dubbio che il biografo, pur conoscendo la versione erodotea, le preferì quella di Fania (F 24 W<sup>2</sup>), in quanto meno sfavorevole a Temistocle"; Muccioli (2008) 470: "Significativamente il biografo prima ricorda il racconto di Erodoto, ma subito dopo gli preferisce quello di Fania, in cui è contenuto l'episodio relativo ad Architele, racconto sicuramente meno ostile all'Ateniese e in linea con il pensiero plutarcheo."

<sup>167</sup> The theory of Fernández Nieto (1994) 661 about the genesis of this passage makes things unnecessarily complicated.

money for himself. In doing so, Plutarch modifies the tendency of the story in Herodotus, whose main intention is to show that Themistocles was corrupt. After this report follows the excerpt from Phaenias (7.6–7). Thus concerning the structure of the story, Plutarch follows Herodotus with the difference that instead of the Corinthian Adimantus, the Athenian Architeles is bribed or rather blackmailed.<sup>168</sup> If we read the whole passage in Plutarch without Herodotus at the back of our mind, we get the impression that Themistocles must have used his own money to pay the one talent to Architeles as he had given the whole sum received from the Euboeans to Eurybiades. That means that both briberies are interpreted by Plutarch in favor of Themistocles. His strategy is efficient, as history will show, and he does everything to put it into practice. So Plutarch adds the second story from Phaenias, because “like the previous story, it portrays Themistocles as employing dubious means, not to enrich himself, but to secure a desirable objective for the Greeks as a whole,” as Marr rightly puts it.<sup>169</sup>

The question we have to ask now is whether this positive reinterpretation of the events was already present in Phaenias. Did he, like Herodotus, mention the bribery of Themistocles by the Euboeans or only that of Architeles by Themistocles? If Themistocles received money from the Euboeans, did he keep the lion’s share for himself (as in Herodotus) or not (as in Plutarch)? Since Plutarch has been shown to have manipulated the account of Herodotus, we have to be aware of this possibility with respect to the Phaenias version as well. If Phaenias’ account corresponded to that of Herodotus with the exception that Adimantus was replaced by Architeles,<sup>170</sup> he has even increased the meanness of Themistocles’ behavior. He is corrupt, keeps the lion’s share of the money for himself and, instead of bribing a Corinthian, he blackmails a fellow Athenian. So he is even more unscrupulous than in Herodotus.<sup>171</sup> If the story instead corresponded to that in Plutarch or if Phaenias did not even mention the bribing by the Euboeans, and had Themistocles give his own money to Architeles in

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Frost (1980) 107.

<sup>169</sup> Marr (1998) 89; cf. Muccioli (2008) 470: Themistocles is not corrupt in Plutarch.

<sup>170</sup> Thus Bodin (1917) 151–2.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Wehrli (1969) 35 (quoted above, n. 162); Engels (1998) 331: “Obviously, P[hainias] has brought an element of malice into his picture of Themistokles.” Differently Bodin (1917) 152.



order to be able to put his strategy into practice, Phaenias presented Themistocles in a positive light. Thus Plutarch's account allows a pro-Themistoclean as well as an anti-Themistoclean reconstruction of the story in Phaenias, and I do not see any possibility to decide on the basis of Plutarch's text which one is to be preferred.

**32:** Thus the image of Themistocles in Phaenias seems to depend mainly on **32**, which shows Themistocles in conversation with the chiliarch Artabanus after his flight to Persia. This conversation is a prelude to the encounter with the king himself. Reasons of language and content make it probable that Plutarch has also drawn on Phaenias for his account of this second conversation.<sup>172</sup> What Themistocles did during his exile in Persia was a crucial part in every presentation of Themistocles' life in antiquity. As a historical fact, the sojourn had to be taken into account by friends and foes of the Athenian, and it is especially this episode that shows the overall picture that an author had of Themistocles.

In the meeting with Artabanus which Plutarch reports with reference to Phaenias (and in the meeting with the king, probably from the same source), Themistocles appears as rhetorically and diplomatically skilled, and the detailed and colorful description of the event does not show any contempt for Themistocles' behavior. He is neither blamed for defecting to the enemy nor for accepting *proskynesis*.<sup>173</sup> He is rather represented in a positive manner by Plutarch.

If Plutarch, therefore, for the better part of his account, follows Phaenias for these events, this is a clear sign that in his source the same or a similar tendency was found. Plutarch was able to make use of various pro-Themistoclean authors for this episode, e.g. Ephorus whom he often uses as a source and on whom Diodorus probably

<sup>172</sup> Thus the *communis opinio*, see Bodin (1915) 268; Laqueur (1938) 1567–76; Wehrli (1969) 36; Frost (1980) 209–12; Engels (1998) 338 (implicitly); Cooper (1995) 331; Marr (1998) 147; Muccioli (2008) 474. Unlike Thucydides, Phaenias had probably Themistocles meet Xerxes, not his successor Artaxerxes, to make the story more spectacular, as most interpreters believe; see e.g. Wehrli (1969) 36; Cooper (1995) 331–2 with n. 37. That is only an insignificant anachronism, which does not show carelessness in chronological matters. Even today there is no certainty on this question.

<sup>173</sup> See Muccioli (2008) 473–6 on Plutarch's tendency; cf. Bodin (1915) 266–8. Differently Engels (1998) 338–9: "Themistokles is described by P[hainias] as a traitor to the Hellenic cause and a political turncoat."

relies in his chapter on Themistocles.<sup>174</sup> So why should he have used a tradition hostile to his hero and reworked it in a way to make it fit his own ideas of the Athenian? Furthermore, there is no other author Plutarch refers to more often in his *Life of Themistocles* than Phaenias, and he never does so in a polemical manner. This too, points to a tendency similar to Plutarch's. If, as generally assumed, the conversation between Themistocles and the king also goes back to Phaenias, the Eresian had offered a religious legitimation for the flight to Persia: the vision of Olbius and the oracle of Zeus at Dodona had ordered Themistocles to go there.<sup>175</sup> All of this points to a positive appraisal of this period of Themistocles' life by Phaenias.

Unfortunately, we do not know what Phaenias reported about Themistocles' death. In the pro-Themistoclean version of the legend he commits suicide in order not to be forced to march against Greece and compromise his fame. That means that he lied to the king when he promised to make his empire bigger, i.e. to conquer Greece. Plutarch accepts this version also, and claims to have found it in most of the sources. It may have been the version of Phaenias as well and would have fitted excellently his assessment of the Athenian.<sup>176</sup> Lying for the good cause was acceptable for Phaenias as **26** and possibly **30** and **37** show. We need not be surprised about such an attitude towards lying. It is perfectly in line with Peripatetic doctrine.<sup>177</sup>

Plutarch recognizes Themistocles' weaknesses, but evaluates him positively as the savior of Greece, and as a person unduly prosecuted after his heroic deeds. It is characteristic of his Themistocles that he does not shy away from mean and dubious actions to reach his goals. As Plutarch approves of his goals, he accepts the means. In all likelihood the picture in Phaenias was very similar.<sup>178</sup> Thus the central

<sup>174</sup> Thus e.g. Bodin (1915) 257–8; Podlecki (1975) 92–100; Marr (1995) 159.

<sup>175</sup> Plu. *Them.* 28.5; cf. 26.2–3.

<sup>176</sup> The legend of the suicide in Plu. *Them.* 31.4–7. It was already known to Thucydides (1.138.1) who did not believe it; an allusion in Aristoph. *Equit.* 80–4 (produced in 424 B.C.). By committing suicide, Themistocles saves Greece for the second time in Diod. 11.58.2–3. On the legend of the suicide, which was probably spread early by Themistocles' relatives, see Marr (1995) 163–4; (1999) 161; Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9): 30–3.

<sup>177</sup> See Zembaty (1993); cf. the commentators on Arist. *EN* 4.13: Apostle (1975) 254 (n. 5 on 4.13); Zanata (1986) 517–8 n. 9; Bodéüs (2004) 215 n. 1.

<sup>178</sup> Thus Muccioli (2008). Bodin (1915) 280 calls Phaenias an “apologist.”



points of Muccioli's analysis are confirmed. It is remarkable that the author of a critical work on tyrants did not present a more negative picture of a man who, as the lord of Magnesia, has to be regarded a tyrant in that phase of his life.<sup>179</sup>

Two fragments of Theophrastus on Themistocles, also quoted in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, seem to support this interpretation.<sup>180</sup> In the first, Themistocles is said to have urged the Greeks at the Olympic Games to destroy the tents of the tyrant Hieron of Syracuse, and to exclude his horses from the competition. In this fictitious story Themistocles appears as an enemy of tyrants and a champion of Greek freedom. In the second fragment we read that Themistocles owned 80 talents at the time his property was confiscated. Yet before entering politics, he had possessed less than three talents. This report is at least exaggerated. Its intention was probably to suggest illegal enrichment.<sup>181</sup> In a third fragment, preserved on papyrus, no clear bias can be discerned. It reports that on his flight Themistocles came to Corcyra, being a benefactor of the city. As arbiter in a dispute between Corcyra and Corinth he had adjudged 20 talents to Corcyra. The historicity of this story is doubtful.<sup>182</sup> Thus in Theophrastus' picture of Themistocles we equally find positive and negative aspects—as well as historically very problematic accounts.

**26:** The fact that Solon is depicted as 'Themistoclean' in this episode, because he is lying to the competing parties in Athens in order to save the city, is the result of a collage technique comparable to the transferal of narrative elements from one story to another, which we find in other fragments of Phaenias: the Athenian is characterized with a trait of another savior of the city, Themistocles.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>179</sup> On the 'tyrannical' character of his rule, see Nollé & Wenninger (1998–9) 59.

<sup>180</sup> Plu. *Them.* 25.1 and 25.3 = 612–613 FHS&G. The first text is from *On Kingship*.

<sup>181</sup> Against the historicity of the two stories, see Marr (1999) 143; 146–7; Piccirilli (1983) 272; 275; on that of the first one, see also Mirhady (1992) 137–8.

<sup>182</sup> POxy. 1012, fr. 9 col. II 23–34 = 611 FHS&G (from Περὶ καίρων); cf. Plu. *Them.* 24.1 (probably from Theophrastus). On the problems of historicity, see Mirhady (1992) 135–7. Piccirilli (1983) 270 accepts the story as historical.

<sup>183</sup> On Solon's 'Themistoclean' character in this fragment, see Wehrli (1969) 34; Piccirilli (1995) 178; Muccioli (2008) 467. I would exclude that Phaenias did not approve of Solon's behavior and that he had a negative view of the Athenian. I am thus in disagreement with Leão (2003–4) who speaks of a "Dark Side of Solon's Political Activity" and sees in the Phaenias fragment evidence for an anti-Solonian

Conclusion: What we learn from the fragments on Solon and Themistocles about Phaenias as a biographer and a historian is in line with what we have seen before and supplements the picture: Phaenias transmits mostly singular pieces of information, some of which are related to the area he comes from (mother of Themistocles; human sacrifice; revenues of Themistocles). The ways in which the surely unhistorical reports are fabricated are well-known from biographical and historical literature: combination of elements from existing stories, to make the new one more spectacular than preceding versions (Architeles), pure invention made plausible and thrilling by the use of local color and tragedy (human sacrifice), free rhetorical elaboration of a novelistic topic (Themistocles meets Artabanus), characterization of one person with character traits of another (Solon). Under these circumstances it is difficult not to detect in **34** on the cities bestowed upon Themistocles by the Persian king another current element of fictitious stories, viz. the expansion of an existing list.<sup>184</sup> Considering all that, the tradition on Themistocles' mother in **29** does not inspire much confidence. We get the impression that Phaenias employed local color to give credibility to invented stories.

Not much can be said about Phaenias' possible sources for all these stories. We can only be sure that whoever made up the story in **30** used Herodotus and Thucydides, but less as sources of information than of inspiration for a new story.<sup>185</sup> By the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Themistocles had become a novelistic figure, and what we read in Phaenias and Theophrastus is indeed a novel.<sup>186</sup>

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tradition at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. In the case of Solon's lying too, it is the result that counts; on Phaenias' positive evaluation of Solon, see e.g. Engels (1998) 322. David (1985) accepts Phaenias' explanation as historically correct; similarly Piccirilli (1995) 178–9. I do not exclude that Solon did indeed act in this way, but I do not think it is likely that Phaenias had authentic information about this at his disposal. Like David in his article, he may have come to this conclusion on the basis of considerations of plausibility.

<sup>184</sup> One may compare e.g. the lists of cities in which Alcibiades showed his chameleon-like character: Plu. *Alc.* 23.3–6; *Quom. adul. ab amic.* 7 p. 52d–e; Nep. *Alc.* 11.1–6; Satyr. fr. 20 Schorn with Schorn (2004) 404–5.

<sup>185</sup> In modern literature one can sometimes read of Ephorus and Ctesias as Phaenias' sources; see e.g. Bodin (1917) 154; Cooper (1995) 324. This however rests on the uncertain results of *Quellenforschung*.

<sup>186</sup> It is telling that Plutarch uses similar words to characterize both authors. He calls Phaenias an ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν (*Them.* 13.5



As for the evaluation of Phaenias as a narrator, it has become apparent that the perspective of the fragments is purely biographical, historical events only providing the frame for the characterization of his heroes Themistocles and Solon.<sup>187</sup> This can be due to the fact that the fragments have been preserved by a biographer, but that need not be the case.

The remaining historical and biographical fragments do not significantly change the picture. I will not dwell on *On the Tyrants of Sicily* and *Tyrants Killed in Revenge*. They seem to have been historical monographs with a strong biographical element, rather than biographies.<sup>188</sup> **16** shows how rich in detail and digressions Phaenias' work on the Sicilian tyrants must have been, since he talked there about votive offerings in Delphi from the heroic age and by Lydian kings.<sup>189</sup> It is worth mentioning that he uses inscriptions on these objects to reconstruct the change of the material out of which the offerings in Delphi were made, and that he even quotes them *in extenso*. For all this we find parallels in biography and history of his time. Maybe he also referred to Theopompus in this context, but the combination of the quotations from Phaenias and Theopompus in **16** may be the result of contamination by our source author Athenaeus.<sup>190</sup> It is a matter of discussion whether the inscriptions that Phaenias quotes could really have existed on votive offerings in Delphi.<sup>191</sup> Be that as it may, their

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= **31**) and speaks of Theophrastus as of an ἀνδρὶ φιληκόῳ καὶ ἱστορικῶ παρ' ὄντινόν τῶν φιλοσόφων (*Alc.* 10.4 = fr. 705 FHS&G); on that see Muccioli (2008) 461–3. Cooper (1995) 325 points out that Phaenias is characterized in this way in order to legitimize the inclusion of the story about the human sacrifice. Muccioli (2008) 462 concludes from the similar characterizations to similar methods of historical-biographical research in both authors. I agree with that in principle but I would rather speak of a similar levity (from a modern point of view) in both authors as to historical and biographical information.

<sup>187</sup> See Bodin (1915) 270; cf. Engels (1998) 328.

<sup>188</sup> On the 'genres', see Wehrli (1969) 30.

<sup>189</sup> Here it is difficult to decide what comes from Theopompus and what from Phaenias; cf. Wehrli (1969) 30; a plausible separation of the material in Schütrumpf, in this volume, p. 346–7.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Zecchini (1989) 53 (Theopompus quoted by Phaenias); more cautious are Chávez Reino & Ottone (2007) 161–5 (with interesting remarks on the style of the Theopompus fragment).

<sup>191</sup> See Page (1981) 423 on the first epigram (= nr. 117 Page, *FGE*): "There is no reason to doubt that an object bearing this inscription was to be seen at Delphi; Phaenias lived in the second half of the fourth century B.C., and it is noteworthy that

use does not necessarily presuppose a visit to the place. Rare historical and antiquarian learning is frequent in the fragments of these books.<sup>192</sup> The description of the tyrants seems to employ the standard topoi. In **20** we find an instructive example of a story that has been embellished by elements of another one:<sup>193</sup> in the etiological<sup>194</sup> story about the murder of the tyrants of Heracleia, elements of the legend about Harmodius and Aristogeiton are included.

Too little is unfortunately preserved of Phaenias' description of the deeds of Chairon, a former Academic philosopher and later tyrant of Pellene (**21**).<sup>195</sup> He was a contemporary of Phaenias, which implies that the Eresian, had he wanted, could surely find first-hand information. But we do not know whether he did. Phaenias emphasizes his φιλοτιμία, as all other sources do. It is interesting that he classifies the claim that Chairon out of ambition attempted to found a city named after himself, as hearsay. Thus here he seems to have been cautious.

### Conclusion: Phaenias as a biographer and a historian

It is not easy to come to a general conclusion about Phaenias as a biographer and historian. It has to be based on the assumption that our source authors have rendered more or less correctly what he had written, and that the transmitted fragments are to a certain extent representative of the character of his works. When much information is preserved on a single topic, as it is on Themistocles, that may be expected to be the case, but we have also seen that Plutarch, our most

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such bogus inscriptions existed at Delphi already in his time." The second epigram is also preserved in *AP* 6.49.

<sup>192</sup> Esp. **18–23, 28** and **35**. One can add the paradoxographical fragments: **39–40**.

<sup>193</sup> Under the condition that Phaenias told the story as we read it in Parthenius (7). But the so-called "manchettes" rather seem to indicate parallels than sources of the accounts we read there; on the problem, see Lightfoot (1999) 246–56.

<sup>194</sup> On the etiological character, see Wehrli (1969) 32; Engels (1998) 304. Cf. Lightfoot (1999) 407–10; she concludes her comparison between this story and that of Harmodius und Aristogeiton with the words: "Thus it is an anaemic version of the older story, purged of its complications of plot and of outcome, and with the characters raised to a greater level of simplicity."

<sup>195</sup> The most important text on Chairon has been preserved by Philodemus' *Historia Academicorum* (col. XI–XII) with quotations from Hermippus and Phaenias. The only safe basis for an interpretation is Dorandi's edition (1991). Gaiser's reconstructions (1988) are castles in the air and should be ignored.



important source author, ascribes to Herodotus a story that only in part corresponds to what he had actually written. Thus in the following, many statements cannot claim more than a certain degree of probability.

Phaenias had a broad range of interests, something that is not uncommon in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.: various areas of philosophy, doxography, natural science, all three areas of biography (politicians, poets, philosophers), and history. As already seen by Bodin, he was not interested in revealing causalities in history—apart from the causality ‘murder of tyrants out of revenge’—but in the events themselves, and especially in the protagonists. In our texts the biographical therefore dominates the historical.<sup>196</sup> His chronicle shows the same tendency. It was a collection of facts (sometimes biographical facts) listed on the thread of eponymous magistrates, reporting single events rather than describing historical structures.

The numerous characterizing anecdotes and the psychological interest of our author were also already noticed by Bodin.<sup>197</sup> However, contrary to what Bodin thought, Phaenias is not the inventor of the characterizing anecdote. Earlier authors such as Stesimbrotus, Ion of Chios, and Herodotus already characterized individuals in this way. Judging from the longer fragments, Phaenias’ works were exciting reading, on occasion even spectacular and flavored with recondite erudition, unknown details, and local color. His intention in writing about the lives of others seems to have been ethical although in most of the cases the limited number of fragments prevents us from discerning the details.<sup>198</sup> But the use of characterizing anecdotes and the topics he is interested in point in this direction (tyranny, luxury, *kalokagathia*, money, lies, sophistry etc.) and do not surprise in a Peripatetic philosopher.

Phaenias rarely mentions his sources. Once, for a doxographical report, he names Hippys of Rhegium, once he might have quoted Theopompus, and in two fragments he quotes or mentions inscriptions from Delphi and Heracleia. Biographical information is sometimes presented as hearsay, sometimes as a fact. There is no compelling evidence that he travelled in order to collect data, as did Neanthes and

<sup>196</sup> Thus already Bodin (1917) 155.

<sup>197</sup> Bodin (1917) 156.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Wehrli (1969) 30–3.

Aristoxenus among his contemporaries. His chronological calculations seem to have been valuable and the result of painstaking research. They were so convincing that they were used by the author of the *Marmor Parium*.

The historical value of the fragments we have discussed is often surprisingly small. Nor is there any evidence that Phaenias consulted eyewitnesses when he wrote about persons of the recent past, as is regularly the case with other biographers and historians of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Information on poets and philosophers is sometimes gained by the method of Chamaeleon, while the influence of comedy is also possible in at least one of his stories. In the fragments about politicians and tyrants it is sometimes manifest that he tells stories that have been made up by using narrative elements of older stories with the tendency of making things more spectacular. All this makes singular pieces of information, of which the provenance and historicity are uncertain, suspect. It cannot be determined beyond doubt whether Phaenias found the fictitious stories in his sources or invented them himself. Some recurrent features in them, however, seem to point to a single originator, Phaenias himself. If this is correct, Phaenias' ways of 'acquiring information' were more or less those that are typical for biographers of later times and that have contributed to the negative image of the genre. Then, this way of working is not a symptom of decline of the genre, a consequence of the fact that biographers wanted to be innovative at a time when no authentic information on their subjects was available anymore. We rather have to admit that in the early years of biography in Greece, i.e. the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., one author already worked in this way, although he wrote at a time when reliable information was still available.

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## 7

# Phainias' Historiographical and Biographical Method: Chronology and Dramatization

*Craig Cooper*

This paper looks at the interplay between chronology and anecdote across a number of Phainias' historiographical works. What we find is that Phainias' detailed eye for chronology is the historical means by which he authenticates the anecdotal material that he has introduced into these works in order to create drama and a degree of characterization. But here I must ask the proverbial question: what came first, the chicken (ἡ ὄρνις) or the egg (τὸ ᾠόν), the chronology or the anecdote? Does the former necessarily precede the latter? Can a historical chicken produce a biographical egg? Or should we think more of a biographical chicken laying a chronological egg?

I begin my discussion with Plutarch's comment in the *Life of Themistokles* 13.2 (31): "at any rate this is what has been said by Phainias the Lesbian who was a philosopher and not unacquainted with historical writings/documents" (ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἶρηκε). The context of Plutarch's comment, which is intended to justify his inclusion of some rather dubious material, is Phainias' highly dramatic story that

described how Themistokles sacrificed the sons of Xerxes' sister, Sandauke, before the battle of Salamis. Two points can be drawn from this fragment that is relevant to our discussion of Phainias' historiographical method. First, the highly dramatic nature of the anecdote is consistent with the kind of tragic history that came to characterize the writing of Douris of Samos, who has sometimes been credited with inventing tragic history.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the story as it is reported by Plutarch is replete with tragic elements intended to heighten the drama: the seer, the ominous flame shooting up from the sacrificial victims, Themistokles' frightful uncertainty about carrying out the seer's directive to sacrifice the youths to Dionysos, and the insistence of the multitude, anxious for their own safety, that the deed be done.

Secondly, Plutarch's comment implies that Phainias was actively engaged in historical research since he was familiar with earlier historical writings (this is how I understand *grammata*, which can variously refer to writing, documents, treatises, or books). Indeed the various fragments indicate that Phainias was familiar with Herodotos, Thucydides, Ephoros, Ktesias and Theopompos, whose works he seems to have drawn on.<sup>2</sup> More than that, they suggest an active engagement with these earlier writers and revision of their accounts' details for his own historiographical purposes. What we see is a keen interest in chronology as a means to anchor the anecdotal material, which he introduces into historiographical works, like the *Prytaneis of Eresos*, *On the Tyrants of Sicily* and *Against the Sophists*.

<sup>1</sup> See Ullman (1942) 34, who posits Kallisthenes as the possible inventor, who applied Aristotle's notion of tragedy as expressed in the *Poetics* to the writing of history. Douris of Samos is often credited with inventing tragic history because of his comments about mimesis and pleasure (*FGrH* 76 F1). He criticizes his predecessors Theopompos and Ephoros for falling short of what actually happened since what they say is devoid of mimesis and pleasure. Here it seems clear that Douris is appropriating for history the Aristotelian notion, as expressed in the *Poetics* (1453B), of pleasure being derived from imitation; there Aristotle notes that the appropriate pleasure for tragedy is that from the arousal and catharsis of pity and fear through mimesis. See Fornara (1983) 123–24; cf. Ullman (1942) 38 and Walbank (1960) 218–219. Nowhere are we told what Douris considered an appropriate pleasure for history (Fornara, 126–127, suggests 'surprise'), but he is said to be exaggerating tragically (ἐπιτραγωδεῖ) when he accuses the Athenians and Perikles of brutality by describing how Perikles had the Samian trierarchs and marines crucified in the agora of Meletos (Plutarch, *Perikles* 28.2: F 67).

<sup>2</sup> Bodin (1917) 154.



**Chronology and dramatization in the “lives”  
of Solon and Themistokles: *Against the Sophists?***

Before looking at the fragments specifically attributed to Phainias, I want to look at another passage in the *Life of Themistokles*, which may elucidate what Plutarch is getting at when he describes Phainias as a “philosopher not unacquainted with historical writings.” The passage involves a question of chronology, which I would suggest was raised by Phainias. In chapter 2 Plutarch discusses Themistokles’ education. At 2.3 he cites Stesimbrotos, who had made Themistokles a student of Anaxagoras and an associate of Melissos the Physicist, but rejects his account on chronological grounds: Stesimbrotos, he claims, “does not have a good grasp on chronology” (οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος). It was Perikles, he states, a much younger man than Themistokles, whom Melissos campaigned against at the siege of Samos and with whom Anaxagoras passed his time. The synchronism with the siege of Samos (440 BC) effectively dissociates the Samian philosopher from Themistokles and allows for the adoption of an alternative tradition that sees Themistokles as the student of Mnesiphilos.

There was, however, a tradition that made Melissos a student of Parmenides and an acquaintance of Herakleitos, both of whom flourished in the 69<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (504–501).<sup>3</sup> Within that tradition Melissos could easily have associated with Themistokles. Similarly, one tradition, which is followed by the chronographer Apollodoros, makes Anaxagoras twenty years old at the time of Xerxes’ invasion, and so a younger contemporary of Themistokles.<sup>4</sup> But in Peripatetic circles these chronologies came under scrutiny. Demetrios of Phaleron, in his *Anagrapḗ tôn Archontôn* (94 SOD; Wehrli IV, fr. 150; *FGrH* 228 F 2) has Anaxagoras begin his career in philosophy in Athens at the age of twenty in the archonship of Kallias, namely, in the year 456/5, a date that again effectively dissociates the natural philosopher from Themistokles, that is, if we accept that Demetrios had actually recorded the name Kallias and not Kalliades.<sup>5</sup> The source preferred by

<sup>3</sup> See Diogenes Laertios 9.1 and 9.23.

<sup>4</sup> See Diogenes Laertios 2.7 = Apollodoros, *FGrH* 244 F31. Apollodoros places Anaxagoras’ birth in the 70th Olympiad (500–497) and death in the first year of the 88th Olympiad (428).

<sup>5</sup> I accept that Demetrios had meant the archon Kallias (456/5) and not the archon Kalliades (480/79), which makes better sense of Diogenes, who first gives the

Plutarch seems to be working within the framework of a chronology that dates the primes of Melissos and Anaxagoras after Themistokles' exile.<sup>6</sup>

Plutarch goes on to state (2.4) that he would rather side with "those who say that Themistokles was a follower of Mnesiphilos the Phrearrhian, who was neither a *rhêtôr* or one of the so-called natural philosophers, but who had made a practice of what was then termed *sophia*, which was nothing more than political cleverness and practical intelligence."<sup>7</sup> He had preserved this wisdom "in succession (ἐκ διαδοχῆς) from Solon as if it were a doctrine, but his successors, who had blended it with forensic arts and had shifted the practice from public affairs to speech, are dubbed the sophists." According to Plutarch's source Mnesiphilos is presented as a successor of Solon and the forerunner of the sophists; he appears in an actual *diadochê*, which begins with Solon, passes from Mnesiphilos to Themistokles and on to the sophists. As I have argued elsewhere, the emphasis in Plutarch's account on *sophia* and *sophistai* suggests that it was taken from Phainias' *Pros tous sophistas*.<sup>8</sup> The Themistokles that emerges in Plutarch's life, both in the texts (29–32, 34) directly attributed to Phainias and in passages that I would argue draw heavily on Phainias, is a man deeply dependent on *logos* for his political success, whether he uses sophistic arguments about Herakles' lineage to persuade the elite youth to exercise with him (*Themistokles* 1.3), or employs clever speech to persuade the Great King to receive him (*Themistokles* 28–29).<sup>9</sup> Whatever you make

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chronology of Apollodoros with its synchronism to Xerxes' invasion, and then Demetrios' alternative chronology; otherwise Apollodoros and Demetrios both follow the same tradition. See Wehrli IV 78, who accepts that Demetrios gave a date of 480/79. See also Hicks (1925) 137 n. and Develin (1989) 63 s.v. Kalliades and the possible confusion with Kallias.

<sup>6</sup> See Woodbury (1981) 295–315 on Anaxagoras' dates and association with Themistokles.

<sup>7</sup> As David Mirhady suggests, Plutarch is likely using the term *rhêtôr* in the sense of rhetorician or teacher of rhetoric as opposed to orator.

<sup>8</sup> Cooper (1995) 332–334.

<sup>9</sup> See Cooper (1995) 330, where it is argued that Themistokles 1.3 is thematically linked to fr. 23 Wehrli (Them. 1.1). Bodin (1915) 251–281, followed by Laqueur (1938) 1567–1575 and Frost (1980) 209–11, has argued that all dramatic elements of chapters 26–29 go back to Phainias; cf. Cooper (1995) 331–332, and my discussion below.



of those arguments, the confidence with which Plutarch speaks of Mnesiphilos both here in the *Life of Themistokles* and elsewhere (*Septem sapientium convivium* 156d & *An seni respublica gerenda sit* 795c) suggests a genuine tradition, in which he is presented as a pre-sophistic philosopher, known for his practical wisdom, who is inserted into a *diadochê*, the framework of which had been worked out, as Frost suggests, by the Peripatetics, and I would suggest more specifically by Phainias himself.<sup>10</sup> In that schema Themistokles would have been a pivotal figure in the transition from the practical wisdom of Solon and Mnesiphilos to the rhetorical instruction of the sophists.<sup>11</sup> But to create a convincing schema Phainias had to establish a chronology into which it could fit, even if it meant that Mnesiphilos had to live to a very ripe old age of ninety-five in order for the chronology to work.<sup>12</sup> Chronology is thus an important historiographical tool in structuring his work.

Chronology is also important to achieve dramatic consistency. We can see this in Plutarch, *Solon* 32.3 (27), where Phainias insists that Solon lived no more than two years after Peisistratos became tyrant. According to Phainias, Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratos (560/59), who succeeded Komeas, the archon (561/0) under whom Peisistratos began his tyranny. By contrast, Plutarch tells us that Herakleides Pontikos (34 Schütrumpf; fr. 148 Wehrli) maintained that Solon had lived several years into Peisistratos' reign, a chronology that is necessary in order to understand Herakleides' characterization of Solon (33–35 Schütrumpf; frs. 147–149 Wehrli). Herakleides presents him as a close friend of Peisistratos from his youth and possibly

<sup>10</sup> Frost (1971) 20–25 and (1980) 21–22, 68.

<sup>11</sup> Only one fragment (15A = Athen. 14.638b) can be securely attributed to Phainias' *Against the Sophists*. According to Athenaios, in this work Phainias attacked two fourth-century composers of nomes, Telenikos of Byzantium and Argas as sophists; though successful in their own time, they could not measure up to Terpandros or Phrynis. A decline is imagined from true *mousikoi* of the past to mere *sophistai* who mechanically reproduce songs. Analogous to Terpandros, Solon represents a true *politikos*, noted for his political acumen, whereas Themistokles, as a forerunner of the sophists, was noted (only) for his cleverness and persuasive speech. The sophists are less practitioners of speech, like Themistokles, than teachers of rhetorical devices that allow others to mechanically reproduce a speech.

<sup>12</sup> Frost (1971) 22.

even a lover (33 Schütrumpf; fr. 147 Wehrli = Plutarch, *Solon* 1.2),<sup>13</sup> who was honoured in his old age by Peisistratos, became the tyrant's counselor, and saw his own legislation implemented and expanded through Peisistratos' efforts.<sup>14</sup> Phainias' shortened chronology is necessary to understand fully his characterization of the statesman. As Wehrli notes (XI, 34), Phainias' dating forms the basis of Plutarch's account in chapter 29, where we are presented with a Solon who has become too weakened by old age to prevent tyranny. He lacks the vigor to speak or act publicly, but he meets in private with the faction leaders in order to achieve some kind of reconciliation. Peisistratos seems open, and though he deceives the majority, Solon sees through his deception. Although Solon tries to mold and soften his character through instruction, in the end he fails. This view is in sharp contrast to the earlier Solon of Phainias' account (**26** = Plutarch, *Solon* 14.1–2) who uses trickery against both parties to save the city, promising distribution of land to the poor and validation of their securities to the rich. At the end of his life, however, Solon's maneuvering no longer works. Precise chronology serves to reinforce and support Phainias' characterization of Solon.

The attention Phainias paid to chronology is not, however, without problems. To achieve the kind of dramatic effects that distinguish his approach to history, Phainias must at times abandon more secure chronology. A case in point is his account of Themistokles' meeting with the Great King. At the beginning of chapter 27 of the *Life of Themistokles*, Plutarch notes that both Thucydides and Charon of Lampsakos relate that Xerxes was dead and it was with his son Artaxerxes that Themistokles had his meeting. But Ephoros, Dion, Kleitarchos,

<sup>13</sup> According to Herakleides, Solon's mother was a cousin of Peisistratos' mother, and it was on account of their kinship and Peisistratos' beauty that they were close friends. As Plutarch notes, this may explain why, when in later years they were at odds with one another over matters of state, their political differences did not carry harsh feelings with them. This is consistent with Herakleides' presentation of the relationship between Solon and Peisistratos after the latter came to power (35 Schütrumpf; fr. 149 Wehrli = Plut. *Sol.* 31.2)

<sup>14</sup> 35 Schütrumpf; fr. 149 Wehrli = Plut. *Sol.* 31.2: Plutarch tells us that Peisistratos retained most of Solon's laws, and introduced other new laws, such as the law providing public support for those maimed in war, that essentially built on Solon's legislation. As Herakleides notes, Solon had introduced an earlier decree to support Thersippos, who had been so maimed, and Peisistratos was simply following his example.



Herakleides and many others note that he met with Xerxes. It seems that a meeting with Xerxes had become the prevailing tradition. Plutarch's next comment is important for our discussion: "with the chronological data, Thucydides seems to be more in agreement, although these are not precisely fixed" (τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταπτομένοις).<sup>15</sup> The uncertainty of the chronology around Themistokles' exile allows Plutarch to ignore Thucydides' more chronologically secure account and to draw on a different account, which is much more dramatic in its effect since it has Themistokles meet face to face with Xerxes.<sup>16</sup> In fact, Plutarch's account is markedly different from that of Thucydides, who reports that Themistokles wrote to Artaxerxes first and through this means secured an audience with the Great King. In Plutarch's account success is dependent upon Themistokles personally persuading the Chiliarch Artabanos to allow him to meet the Great King (ch. 27), and then arguing successfully on two separate occasions in person with the King himself (chs. 28–29). It is only after his second meeting with the Great King that he secures a reprieve of one year to learn Persian, a request that, in Thucydides, is made by letter and before Themistokles' actual meeting with Artaxerxes. In fact, the contents of the letter form the basis of Plutarch's account of Themistokles' speech at his first audience with the Great King. The request of a year to learn Persian is made at the second meeting and in person. Interestingly, nowhere in his account does Plutarch mention the Great King by name, which suggests that, though he concedes that Thucydides' chronology is more secure, he prefers the more dramatic account of his other source, which envisions a meeting with Xerxes.

After noting the chronological issues at stake if he ignores Thucydides and adopts an alternative account, Plutarch proceeds (27.2) to describe Themistokles' preliminary meeting with the Chiliarch Artabanos, an account which he has taken over from Phainias (32).<sup>17</sup> In chapters 28–29 we have a description of the two face-to-face meetings

<sup>15</sup> See Frost (1980) 213 for the variant readings of this text; cf. Lenardon (1959) 42–3.

<sup>16</sup> On the problems of the chronology of Themistokles' flight, see Steinbrecher (1985) 17–29; Piccirilli (1982) 157–64; Rhodes (1970) 392–9; Lenardon (1959) 23–48.

<sup>17</sup> See Wehrli IX 36.

between Themistokles and the Great King. Plutarch does not name his source but at the end of chapter 29 Phainias is again cited in the context of a scholarly debate over the number of cities assigned to Themistokles for his provisions (**34** = *Themistokles* 29.11). That Phainias had indeed described a meeting between Xerxes and Themistokles is implied in **33**, where we are informed by Athenaios (2.48e) that Phainias reported how Artaxerxes had honoured Timagoras or Entimos of Gortyn, who “in imitation of Themistokles had traveled inland to the King.” This evidence suggests that Phainias not only told the same story about Themistokles, but also had him meet not with Artaxerxes but with Xerxes. Bodin (1915: 251–281), followed by Laqueur (1938: 1567–1575), and Frost (1980: 209–11), has argued that all the dramatic elements of chapters 26–29 of the *Life of Themistokles* go back to Phainias. Not only do Frost (210) and Wehrli (IX 36) accept that the main elements of the meetings with Artabanos and the Great King derive from Phainias, but they also point to *proskynêsis* as a unifying theme of the narrative of these chapters.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, as Wehrli (IX 36) notes, the story of Sandauke, which sees Themistokles sacrifice her sons before the battle of Salamis, makes more dramatic sense if it precedes an actual meeting with her brother Xerxes. Indeed, Diodoros (11.57), who is likely drawing on Ephoros for his account and so following the prevailing tradition, provides a clear variation on Phainias that follows the same dramatic pattern. In Diodoros’/ Ephoros’ account, Mandake, the sister of Xerxes, loses her sons at the battle of Salamis and upon learning of Themistokles’ presence at the Persian court, entreats her brother Xerxes to exact vengeance on Themistokles, who succeeds, however, in being acquitted before a jury of Persian nobles. The pattern is the same: the death of sons of Xerxes’ sister, either indirectly or directly at Themistokles’ hands, is followed by a face-to-face meeting with Xerxes himself.

Chronology is thus an important aspect of Phainias’ historiographical method. It helps to establish the historicity of the intellectual lineage that he traced from Solon through Mnesiphilos and Themistokles to the sophists. The precise dating of Solon’s death to the second year of Peisistratos’ reign authenticates his characterization of Solon

<sup>18</sup> The same theme is picked up in **33**, where we are told that Timagoras of Athens did not receive the same kind of generous treatment from Artaxerxes as Entimos of Gortyn, even though he prostrated himself before the king.



as an ineffectual *politikos* at the end of his life. Dating Themistokles' exile to the reign of Xerxes creates drama which would be lost if he met with Artaxerxes.

### Chronology in other historiographical works

Phainias' precision in chronology can be seen in other historiographical works that are organized as *diadochai*, namely the *Prytaneis of Eresos* (22–25) and *On the Sicilian Tyrants* (16–17). As the title of the former work suggests, Phainias organized the history of his native city around a succession of rulers or magistrates. As Wehrli (IX 33) notes, a model for his work might have been Charon's *Prytaneis of the Lacedaimonians*, which the *Suda* describes as a chronicle,<sup>19</sup> or the four books of Charon's *Hôroi Lampsakênôn* (*Chronicles of Lampsakos*). Phainias was likely familiar with these works. But there were models closer to home within the Peripatos. Aristotle's *Athênaiôn Politeia* conceives of Athenian constitutional history in terms of a succession of *prostatai*, each of whom dominated politics for a period of time.<sup>20</sup> Demetrios of Phaleron's *Anagraphe tôn Archontôn* was a chronicle or catalogue of Athenian Eponymous Archons around whom important events and milestones in history were organized. So for instance, Thales was first called *sophos* in Athens in the archonship of Damasias (582/1), when, according to Demetrios in his *Anagraphe tôn Archontôn*, the name was applied to all the Seven Sages (93 SOD; fr. 149 Wehrli = Diogenes Laertios 1.22). Anaxagoras began to philosophize in Athens in the archonship of Kallias, when he was twenty, so Demetrios reports in his *Anagraphe tôn Archontôn* (94 SOD; fr. 150 Wehrli = Diogenes Laertios 2.7). According to Demetrios, Kleon brought a suit against Laches, who had been general in the archonship of Eukleos (427/6), having been sent three years before with ships to help Leontini (111 SOD; fr. 150 I Wehrli). Demetrios maintained that Aristeides became archon a little before his death after the battle of Plataia (fr. 151 Wehrli = Plutarch, *Aristeides* 5.7). According to

<sup>19</sup> *FGrH* 228 T1: Πρυτάνεις [ἢ ἄρχοντας] τοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων (ἔστι δὲ χρονικά).

<sup>20</sup> On this point see Cooper (1997) 463–4 with reference to Theopompos, who arranged his excursus on the Athenian demagogues in book ten of the *Philippika* along similar lines, with additional bibliography.

Demetrios, Sokrates was born in the archonship of Apsephion (469/8) and died at the age of seventy (109 SOD; fr. 153 Wehrli = Diogenes Laertios 2.44). Isokrates died in the archonship of Chairondas after the battle of Chaironeia (155 SOD; fr. 154 Wehrli). Though we cannot be certain, we suspect Phainias organized his *Pyrtaneis of Eresos* along similar lines, linking key moments in history, including literary, philosophical and other types of innovative developments, to particular magistrates.<sup>21</sup>

We can perhaps see this arrangement in **25**, if we accept with Mosshammer (1979: 233) and Engels (*FGrH* 1012 F10) that the fragment should be assigned to the local chronicle and not to Phainias' work, *On the Poets*. According to Clemens of Alexandria, Hellanikos (*FGrH/BNJ* F 85b) reported that Terpandros lived in the time of Midas, but Phainias, by placing Lesches the Lesbian before Terpandros' time, held that Terpandros was younger than Archilochos and that Lesches had competed with Arktinos and won. The order implied by Clemens in which the three poets appeared in Phainias' chronology was Archilochos, Lesches and Terpandros.<sup>22</sup> By contrast, Hellanikos had a different chronology which made Terpandros older than Archilochos. Hellanikos dated Terpandros to the time of Midas; Herodotos (1.14) implies that Gyges was younger than Midas, when he states that Gyges was the first barbarian to send dedications to Delphi after the time of Midas.<sup>23</sup> If Hellanikos accepted that Archilochos was a contemporary of Gyges, based on the poet's own reference to the king (fr. 22), the synchronism with Midas indicates that he considered Terpandros both older than Gyges and by implication older than Archilochos.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Hellanikos (*FGrH* 4 F85a/*BNJ* 4 F85a = Athenaios 14.635ef) noted in his *Karneian Victors* that Terpandros was the first victor at the Karneian festival, whose foundation Sosibios (*FGrH* 595 F3) dated to the 26<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (676/2).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See Wehrli IX 33.

<sup>22</sup> Mosshammer (1977) 113–14, 119; Mosshammer (1979) 228; Engels (1998) 316.

<sup>23</sup> Eusebius (89e Helm) dates the beginning of Midas' rule some forty years before that of Gyges and dates his death to Olympiad 21.1, 696/5 (92a Helm), whereas he (92 Helm) dates the beginning of Gyges' reign to Olympiad 20.2 (699/8).

<sup>24</sup> On this point see Mosshammer (1979) 227–8 and (1977) 106–7, 113.

<sup>25</sup> ὅτι δὲ καὶ Τέρπανδρος ἀρχαιότερος Ἀνακρέοντος δῆλον ἐκ τούτων τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὥς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις



Whether Hellanikos gave a similar date is not clear (it seems unlikely) but what is clear is that he placed Terpanndros too early for Phainias' liking.<sup>26</sup> That is precisely Clemens' point when he includes Hellanikos among those writers who "archaized" (ἀρχαΐζουσι) Terpanndros and to prove his point turns to Phainias in an attempt to refute Hellanikos' chronology.<sup>27</sup>

Clearly Phainias rejected Hellanikos' early chronology, when he made Terpanndros younger than Archilochos. As Mosshammer (1977: 119) notes, Phainias' attempt to lower Terpanndros' dates, by making him younger than Archilochos, may have been based on some notion of the historical development of music and poetry. To make his argument convincing two details in Phainias' account, as we find preserved in Clemens, were likely synchronized to a particular magistrate's year in office: the competition between Lesches and Arktinos and the acme of Terpanndros. As an "event" of history, the musical competition between Lesches and Arktinos, which was obviously modeled after the contest between Homer and Hesiod and represented in the epic cycle the passing of the poetic torch from the mainland (Arktinos came from Miletos) to Lesbos (Lesches came from Mytilene), was precisely the kind of historical event to find itself attached to a magistrate's name.<sup>28</sup> If, as Mosshammer (1977: 113; 1979: 232) suggests, Phainias

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Καρνεονίκαις κὰν τοῖς καταλογάδην. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων κατὰ τὴν ἔκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Σωσίβιός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρόνων.

<sup>26</sup> See Mosshammer (1977: 116–18) on the problems with the date of 676/5, as it implies that Terpanndros was younger than Archilochos and Gyges and not synchronous with Midas. But see Engels (1998) 316–17 for the dates of Midas' reign based on cuneiform documents. For the chronology of Archilochos see Jacoby 1941. Mosshammer (1977: 108, 124) tentatively accepts Böckh's restoration of Archilochos' name to ep. 33 in his 1843 edition of the *Parian Marble*; cf. *FGrH* 239 A33. If so, the *Parian Marble* dates Archilochos to 682/1, which is earlier than its date of 645/4 for Terpanndros (*FGrH* 239 A34), a date that Mosshammer attributes to Phainias. It is close to but not quite the forty-year interval that Mosshammer suggests was used by Phainias for dating the succession of poets: see 1977: 124 and 1979: 231–33.

<sup>27</sup> Mosshammer's translation of ἀρχαΐζουσι, who (1977: 111–6) provides a detailed examination of Clemens' argument.

<sup>28</sup> Eusebius (94i Helm) dates Lesches to Olympiad 30.3 (658/7). His source, which Mosshammer (1977: 119 and 130 n.26) intimates is Phainias, makes Lesches the author of *Little Iliad*, whereas Hellanikos (schol. Euripides Troades 822) maintains that it was the work of Kinaithon. Pausanias (10.25.5) says Lesches came from Pyrrha and attributes to him *Sack of Troy*, which is also attributed to Arktinos. On the point

considered Lesches the last representative of epic poetry and Terpan-dros his immediate poetic successor, composing as he did citharodic nomes in epic meter, then Phainias also dated Arktinos considerably later than we find in the later chronographic tradition.<sup>29</sup> As for Terpandros, Mosshammer (1977 & 1979: 227–28) has argued that the date of 644/3, which the *Parian Marble* (*FGrH* 239 A34) gives for his musical innovations in the citharodic nomes, derives from Phainias. If that is the case, Phainias would have attached the musical innovation of Terpan-dros to a particular magistrate's name.<sup>30</sup>

Whatever can be made of **25**, it is certainly clear from **24** that precise chronology was an important concern for Phainias. There Clemens reports that some authors reckoned from the destruction of Troy to the return of the Herakleidai 120 or 180 years, and from that point to the archonship of Euainetos (335/4), in whose term of office Alexander crossed into Asia, Phainias reckoned 715 years, whereas Ephoros (*FGrH* 70 223) gave 735 years.<sup>31</sup> As in the case of Phainias' account of Themistokles' meeting with Xerxes, which seems to follow Ephoros' chronology but includes its own dramatic variations, there is an interesting point of contact here between Phainias and Ephoros, and this time the dispute is over actual chronology. It is known that Ephoros began his universal history with the return of the Herakleidai, which represented for him the first verifiable historical fact (*FGrH* 70 T 8 = Diodoros 4.1.2).<sup>32</sup> According to Diodoros (4.1.2–3), Ephoros, Kallisthenes and Theopompos avoided ancient mythologies (τὰς ἀρχαίας μυθολογίας) and began their histories with more recent events (τὰς νεωτέρας πράξεις). We suspect that Phainias did the same in the *Prytaneis of Eresos*, though we cannot be certain.

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that contest between Lesches and Arktinos represented a poetic transfer from the mainland to Lesbos, see Mosshammer (1977) 113 and (1979) 228.

<sup>29</sup> See Mosshammer (1979) 198–203 for Arktinos' dates.

<sup>30</sup> As Mosshammer (1979: 229–30) notes, Phainias may have used Phrynīs' Phan-athenaic victory in 446 as a starting point to calculate Terpan-dros' date; there would have been five forty-year intervals between Terpan-dros and Phrynīs, who was the last representative of Terpan-dros' school. Mosshammer (1979: 231–33 & 1977: 120–22) concludes that a "forty-year interval to represent a literary or philosophical suc-cession" was used by Phainias. Cf. Engels (1998) 317.

<sup>31</sup> I follow Wehrli IX, 33 in accepting that this fragment comes from the *Prytaneis of Eresos*. Cf. Mosshammer (1979) 233 and Engels (1998) 313–14.

<sup>32</sup> See Fornara (1983) 8–9; Marincola (1997) 242 n. 125; Barber (1935) 26.



Despite Diodoros' disclaimer, Ephoros is known to have touched upon mythological events, including events surrounding Troy (*FGrH* 70 F 123), and we may conclude that he included a calculation on the number of years separating the return of the Herakleidai from the fall of Troy. As Engels notes (1998, 314), "the capture of Troy was a natural starting point for all calculations." Clemens seems to suggest that Phainias included a similar calculation, but does not indicate to which group of writers he belonged, those who gave a 120 or those who gave 180 years between the fall of Troy and the return of the Herakleidai. As in the case of his treatment of Terpandros, there seems to be an attempt to lower the chronology and find precision, avoiding the kind of unsophisticated approach that a Douris or Theopompos took to chronology.<sup>33</sup>

In **22A** (Athenaios 8.333a) we learn that Phainias had reported in the second book of his *Pyrtaneis of Eresos* that it rained fish for three days in the Chersonese. We do not know why Phainias would have included an account of such a natural phenomenon in a chronicle, but no doubt he described the incident under a particular magistrate's year and connected it to some other important event in that same year. Athenaios includes the reference among similar accounts of natural phenomena by other authors, who do just that, connecting the phenomenon with an important battle or a particular religious practice. Finally in **23** (Athenaios 1.16e) Phainias, drawing on the *Odyssey* (1.107), noted that the suitors of Penelope had enjoyed themselves with πεσσοί (draughts) before the palace doors, having learned πεττεία (the game of draughts) not from the great Diodoros or from Leon of Mytilene, who was actually of Athenian descent and had never lost a game. Here we may get some sense what Phainias was up to historiographically in this particular work. We may surmise that Phainias had traced the game back to the time of Homer and claimed that it was truly a Lesbian invention, and not of Athenian origin, even via Mytilene. It is possible that Phainias was addressing a gap in Herodotos (1.94), who traces the invention of various games, such as dice, knuckle bones, and ball, back to the Lydians and the time of King Atys. They were invented as distractions from an ongoing famine.

<sup>33</sup> In 25 we also learn from Clemens that Douris (*FGrH* 76 F 41) gave a round 1000 years separating Troy from Alexander's crossing. Theopompos (*FGrH* 115 F 205; Clemens *Strom.* 1.117) claims that Homer lived 500 years after the fall of Troy.

According to Herodotos, the only game the Lydians did not lay claim to was draughts. Phainias may have pointed to the *Odyssey* (1.107) as evidence that draughts and perhaps other forms of games (cf. Athenaios 1.19a) were Greek inventions, predating the time Atys, and were discovered when a particular *prytanis* ruled or held office at Eresos. We can say no more.

As to *On the Sicilian Tyrants*, that the work was arranged as a *diadochê* perhaps goes without saying.<sup>34</sup> More interestingly, though, is how each life or reign within the succession was arranged thematically and chronologically. The fragments (**16–17, 56**), though limited, may provide a clue. **16** (Athenaios 6.231e) indicates that Phainias had drawn on Theopompos for his work on the Sicilian tyrants. Athenaios refers both to Phainias and Theopompos for details on Delphic dedications of the tyrants Gelon and Hieron. According to Athenaios, the first silver and gold dedications at Delphi were made by Gyges “as Phainias Eresos reports and Theopompos in the fortieth book of his *Philippika*.” He adds that both “writers record that the Pythian shrine was adorned by Gyges, then after him by Croesus, and after them by Gelon and Hieron, with the former dedicating a tripod and golden Victory at the time of Xerxes’ invasion of Greece, and Hieron making the same dedications.” After quoting Theopompos for an account of how Hieron acquired gold for his dedications of a tripod and Victory, Athenaios writes, “Phainias also records the same things in *On the Sicilian Tyrants*, noting that the ancient dedications, tripods, cauldrons and daggers were of bronze.”<sup>35</sup> Apparently Phainias also cited in his work two inscriptions, one found on a dagger and the other on a tripod, both dating back to the Homeric period. However that may be, what is important for our discussion is the chronological synchronism provided by Phainias. Gelon’s dedications coincide with the invasion

<sup>34</sup> Wehrli (IX 30) suggests that it should be compared to Theopompos’ excursus on the Athenian demagogues in book ten of the *Philippika*, which was also arranged as a succession, with each demagogue dominating politics for a certain period. See Cooper (1995) 327 n.25 for the evidence that Theopompos’ excursus was arranged along these lines.

<sup>35</sup> This would suggest that Phainias had followed Theopompos in describing Hieron’s efforts in acquiring gold for his Delphic dedications. See Bodin (1917) 154, but note the caution of Wehrli (IX 32) who believes that Athenaios has contaminated the two accounts and in fact Phainias only spoke of dedications by Gelon and not Hieron as Theopompos had.



of Xerxes, which I would suggest mark the high-water mark of his reign after which it or the dynasty as a whole went into decline. In that same year (480) Hamilcar invaded Sicily but was defeated by Gelon who died soon after, in 478. The other significant point is the parallel drawn in the fragment between Gelon and Hieron and the Lydians, who are often held up as an example of a nation that reached a peak of prosperity and luxury (τρυφή) only to commit *hybris* and fall into decline. The best example of this ethical pattern of history within Peripatetic circles can be found in Klearchos' *Περὶ βίων*.<sup>36</sup>

Usually the nation, community or tyrant begin at the peak of power, often due to the sobriety practiced by its people or leader, they acquire wealth that leads to luxurious living, which when taken to excess expresses itself in effeminate behaviour. Luxurious living eventually leads to acts of *hybris* for which the community or tyrant are ultimately punished. Thus the Scythians (fr. 46 Wehrli: Athenaios 12. 524c) were among the first to adopt νόμοι κοινοί, which contributed to their ὄλβος τῶν βίων, but “later they became most wretched of all men through their *hybris*” (εἶτα πάλιν ἐγένοντο πάντων ἀθλιώτατοι βροτῶν διὰ τὴν ὕβριν). The decline that follows is represented in three clearly demarcated stages.<sup>37</sup> First, the Scythians began to live a life of luxury, which led them to acquire wealth and adopt clothing that reflected their extravagance. Next, they rushed headlong into extravagance until they committed *hybris* against their neighbours, by cutting off the noses of the men and tattooing the women. Finally, they were punished by having a similar outrage done to them; their bodies were shaved. The Lydians follow the same pattern of decline in three definite stages (fr. 43a: Athenaios 12. 515e): first they entered a phase of luxurious living (διὰ τρυφήν), building for themselves parks and gardens; next, they advanced in their *hybris* (καὶ πόρρω προάγοντες ὕβρεως) until the point where they gathered together the wives and daughters of their neighbours into the place euphemistically called “Chastity”, where they outraged the women (ὕβριζον). Finally (καὶ τέλος), the Lydians became so effeminate in their behaviour that they began to live like women and earned for themselves a female tyrant, who was herself one of the outraged victims, a punishment commensurate

<sup>36</sup> See Cooper (2002) 323–331 for a full discussion of this work, which I have abridged here.

<sup>37</sup> See Wehrli III 61 for his discussion on the Lydians.

with their crime and type of living. That history has been neatly tailored to fit the ethical pattern can be seen from Klearchos' reinterpretation of the myth of Midas. He is found in the third stage of Lydian depravity as a representative of their effeminacy and as the husband of Omphale in place of Herakles.<sup>38</sup>

The same pattern of history is repeated for Greek cities and tyrants, who imitate the luxury of the Lydians. After acquiring strength and power (ἀλκὴν καὶ δύναμιν κτησαμένους) the Tarentines entered the first stage of decline, the stage of luxury. They progressed in luxury to such a point that they shaved their bodies and men began to wear transparent clothing, a feature of present-day women's fashions. In the next stage (ὑστερον),<sup>39</sup> the Tarentines were led by their *truphê* to commit *hybris* against the neighbouring city of Karbina, whose young women and children were gathered into the city's temples and raped; finally, the Tarentines were punished by the gods; anyone who had participated in the outrage was struck by lightning (fr. 48: Athenaios 12.522d). The *hybris* of the Tarentines, the rape of the women and children of Karbina in a temple square, is precisely that of the Lydians (fr. 43a) and of the tyrant Dionysios the younger (fr. 47: Athenaios 12.541c), whose own *hybris* and subsequent punishment are patterned after that of Lydians.<sup>40</sup> So as the Lydians gathered the wives and daughters of others to the place euphemistically called "Chastity", Dionysios gathered the Lokrian girls into a large hall.<sup>41</sup> His punishment, to serve as mendicant priest of Cybele, reminds us of the punishment of the Lydians who were forced to serve under a woman to reflect their effeminate behaviour.<sup>42</sup> In the case of Polykrates (fr. 44:

<sup>38</sup> Wehrli III 61.

<sup>39</sup> The Codex Marcianus of Athenaios actually gives δεύτερον as a variant reading; that this is a possible reading cannot be ruled out since, as the fragments suggest, the history of a city or nation was regularly presented by Klearchos in three definite stages of decline.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Wehrli III 63.

<sup>41</sup> The admonition that concludes fragment 47 clearly connects *truphê* with the *hybris* of the tyrant: "And so, we should beware of so-called luxury which is an overthrower of all lives and regard insolence as destructive" (εὐλαβητέον οὖν τὴν καλουμένην τρυφήν οὗσαν τῶν βίων ἀνατροπὴν ἀπάντων τε ὀλέθριον ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν ὕβριν.)

<sup>42</sup> Or for the matter that of the Medes (fr. 49: Athen. 12.514d) who after making their neighbours into eunuchs were forced to bear the humiliation of watching the Persians adopt their own practice of "Apple-bearing", both as a τιμορία and as "a



Athenaios 12.540e), he imitated the effeminate practices of the Lydians by building the famous Samian “Quarter” (λαύρα) to rival the “Sweet Embrace” of Sardis (Ἀγκῶν Γλυκεύς). The Samian tyrant “came to ruin because of his dissipated lifestyle of imitating Lydian effeminacy” (διὰ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀκολασίαν ἀπώλετο, ζηλώσας τὰ Λυδῶν μαλακά) and while the city was distracted with holiday revelry,<sup>43</sup> the kingdom was lost to the Persians without a whisper (fr. 44).<sup>44</sup>

I have spent some time looking at Klearchos' Περὶ βίων, as it might suggest a possible way of understanding Phainias' approach to writing the history of the Sicilian tyrants. The evidence is limited but seems to suggest an ethical orientation. So **17** (Athenaios 1.6e) presents Dionysios I at dinner with the poet Philoxenos and is an example of the kind of luxurious lifestyle which would ultimately lead a tyrant to acts of *hybris* and his own undoing. But beyond that we can say no more and at the risk of committing scholarly *hybris*, we should not speculate further. **16**, however, does suggest that chronology was also an important aspect of the work on the Sicilian Tyrants, whatever ethical orientation of the work may have been as a whole. Like the other historiographical works that we have examined chronology is meant to authenticate and anchor the anecdotes in historical reality.

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reminder into what depths of effeminacy the luxury of the bodyguards went” (τῆς τῶν δορυφορούντων τρυφῆς εἰς ὅσον ἦλθον ἀνανδρίας ὑπόμνημα). That is to say, the Medes through their excessive luxury had become like the emasculated priests of Cybele, the mendicant ἀγύραται. So Gulick 5 (1963) 314 n.a. Klearchos concludes with a similar admonition as we find in the case of Dionysios: “For so it seems, their immoderate and frivolous luxury in their way of life can even turn men armed with spears into beggars” (δύναται γάρ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἡ παράκαιρος ἅμα καὶ μάταιος αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν βίον τρυφή καὶ τοὺς ταῖς λόγχαις καθοπλισμένους ἀγύρτας ἀποφαίνειν). Ultimately the behaviors of both the Medes and the tyrant are patterned after the Lydians’.

<sup>43</sup> The text of Athenaios 540e, which preserves fragment 44, breaks off at this point and all that is preserved is ἔτι δὲ τῆς συμπάσης πόλεως ἐν ἑορταῖς τε καὶ μέθαις ... καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέαρχος. Gulick 5 (1963) 447 n. f suggests something like “the Persians attacked and conquered it.” This conjecture fits what Klearchos said earlier, that Polykrates came to ruin because of his dissipated life.

<sup>44</sup> The fate of Polykrates is precisely that of the last Persian king (fr. 50: Athen. 12.539b), who “caused the defeat of his kingdom through all of his own indulgences” (ὕπὸ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων ἡττωμένην ἀπέδειξε τὴν βασιλείαν) and “did not perceive his own defeat until others had taken the sceptre from him and been proclaimed victor” (καὶ καταγωνιζόμενος ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ᾔσθετο πρότερον ἢ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἕτεροι λαβόντες ἀνεκηρύχθησαν).

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## 8

### **Phaenias' Work *On the Socratics* and His Fragment on Petron of Himera (56A–B = fr. 12 Wehrli)**

*Leonid Zhmud*

Phaenias belongs to the same generation as Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus, but in the biographical genre he seems to follow patterns already established by its founders, sometimes modifying them. Thus, to the philosophers, the original heroes of Peripatetic biography, he added politicians, such as Solon and Themistocles. A. Momigliano, followed by other scholars, expressed uncertainty as to whether various episodes from different periods of the lives of Solon and especially of Themistocles, taken by Plutarch from Phaenias, belonged originally to formal biographies, and not to the collections of biographical anecdotes, not yet linked together in a chronological scheme.<sup>1</sup> It is true that Plutarch does not say that Phaenias wrote a biography of Themistocles. Nevertheless, if Phaenias was influenced by Aristoxenus, which nobody denies, then the fact that Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus definitely presented different episodes of Pythagoras' life in a biographical framework may add additional weight to the suggestion that Phaenias did after all follow the same pattern, at least

<sup>1</sup> Momigliano (1993) 73–74.

in the case of Themistocles and possibly in the case of Solon, where we have less material (3 passages as compared with 6 concerning Themistocles). In the same generation the Peripatetic Eudemus of Rhodes chronologically organized various discoveries in geometry, arithmetic and astronomy, thus creating the first specimens of the history of science (fr. 133–149 Wehrli). A chronological pattern is also clearly visible in the first book of Theophrastus' *Φυσικῶν δόξαι*,<sup>2</sup> so we might easily expect that Phaenias arranged different stories about Themistocles according to the same principle and thus turned them into a biography. We know that he was interested in questions of chronology.<sup>3</sup>

Many Peripatetics shared Aristotle's interest in the figure of Socrates (*SSR* I B 1–40).<sup>4</sup> Some of them, such as Aristoxenus (fr. 51–60 Wehrli) and Dicaearchus (42–43 Mirhady = fr. 36, 29 Wehrli) devoted their biographical works to him. It was only natural that Phaenias moved to Socrates' students, presenting in his *Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν* their “collective biography.” In the next generation a book with the same title was written by Idomeneus of Lampsacus (*FGrHist* 338 F 16–17), a friend and student of Epicurus. Neither work was very popular: two fragments are preserved from Phaenias (**36–37**) and three from Idomeneus. Remnants of Idomeneus' work can be usefully compared with that of Phaenias, whom the Epicurean appears to have followed in his treatment of the material,<sup>5</sup> although he is more malicious.

We do not know when the word *Σωκρατικός* was coined; what distinguishes it from the earlier names of the philosophical schools or circles like *Πυθαγόρειοι*, *Ἀναξαγόρειοι* and *Ἡρακλείτριοι* is its “learned” suffix *-ικός*, which was very popular with the Sophists and especially in Plato.<sup>6</sup> The latter, however, does not use the word *Σωκρατικός*; the first time *Σωκρατικοί* appear is in Aristotle's early writings with reference to the Socratic dialogues, *Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Zhmud (2006) 160ff.

<sup>3</sup> Mosshammer (1977) 105–132.

<sup>4</sup> See Gigon (1959) 174–212.

<sup>5</sup> Leo (1901) 112.

<sup>6</sup> Ammann (1953); Willi (2003) 142ff.

<sup>7</sup> ... ἢ τοὺς Ἀλεξάμενοῦ τοῦ Τηίου τοὺς προτέρους γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων (*Περὶ ποιητῶν*, fr. 72 Rose = fr. 3 Ross). “The Socratic dialogues do depict character, being concerned with moral questions” (*Rhet.* 1417a20). Cf. τοὺς



It seems that Σωκρατικός was first applied to the genre of the philosophical dialogue in which Socrates played a central role and then to those of his listeners who wrote such dialogues. As far as I can see, Phaenias' work is the first occurrence of Σωκρατικός applied to a person.<sup>8</sup> In the later tradition Socratics are normally those students of Socrates who wrote Socratic dialogues, though Critias also figures several times as a Σωκρατικός.<sup>9</sup> It is very possible that Phaenias, as the author of the first work on the subject, played an important role in the formation of this canon.

The title Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν does not in itself presuppose that the book is biographical in character—Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων by Heraclides Ponticus (1 (86–89), 128–129 Schütrumpf = fr. 22, 40–41 Wehrli) and by Aristotle (fr. 191–196 Rose) certainly were not—but both its fragments are clearly biographical.<sup>10</sup> The first (36) reports Antisthenes' χρεῖα on how to become *kalos k'agathos*, the second an anecdote about Aristippus of Cyrene being the first of the Socratics to take money for his teaching and to send them to his master. Once when Socrates received a sum of 20 *minai* he did send money back, declaring that his *daimonion* would not allow him take it. "The very offer in fact annoyed him" (37). That Phaenias' work on the Socratics featured Socrates as well is understandable in view of the character of the available biographical tradition that mostly goes back to the Socratic dialogues. Socrates figures also in two of three fragments of Idomeneus' book. Judging by the anecdote about money, Phaenias did not share Aristoxenus very critical attitude toward Socrates: whereas Aristoxenus has Socrates live on interest earned from lending money (fr. 51 Wehrli), Phaenias' picture is closer to that of Plato, who insisted that Socrates did not care about making money (*Ap.* 36b). It is

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Σωκρατικοὺς λόγους (*Poet.* 1447b11). Cf. καὶ ὀρθῶς τὸ Σωκρατικόν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον φρονήσεως (*EE* 1246b34).

<sup>8</sup> The word occurs in a fragment of Hermodorus' work on Plato (εἶτα γεγόμενος ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτων, καθά φησιν Ἑρμόδωρος, εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Εὐκλείδην σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ Σωκρατικοῖς ὑπεχώρησεν, fr. 5 Isnardi Parente = D. L. III, 6), but since this is not a direct quotation, it is unclear whether it was used by the author (cf. Herm. fr. 4 = D. L. II, 106 on the same subject: ἀφικέσθαι Πλάτωνα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς φιλοσόφους). This concerns also a title of Lysias' speech against Aeschines: Πρὸς Αἰσχίνην τὸν Σωκρατικὸν χρέως (*Fragmenta*, Oration 4).

<sup>9</sup> Dion. Hal. *On Thuc.* 51; *Scholia In Aeschinem* 1, schol. 173.

<sup>10</sup> Fr. 30–31 Wehrli = *FGrHist* 1012 F 11–12.

commonly believed that Socrates was financially supported by his friends and students, and this is what Phaenias says. Socrates' personal *daimonion*, however, prevented him from taking too large a sum: indeed, as Xenophon says, his whole property was only 5 *minai* (*Oec.* 2.3). Phaenias relied on a tradition unfavourable to Aristippus, which made his teaching for fees the most popular fact of his biography (*SSR* IV A). Probably because of this Aristotle calls Aristippus σοφιστής (*Met.* 996a32), which is repeated in Phaenias' σοφιστεύσας (37).

Some scholars assert that Phaenias was the first to write about a group of philosophers or a group of disciples of one philosopher.<sup>11</sup> I think he was less innovative in this respect, for Aristoxenus' work *Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ* also dealt with a philosopher and his followers, in that case many generations of the Pythagoreans up to the last one, contemporaries of Aristoxenus' himself (fr. 17–20 Wehrli). Another sign of Aristoxenus' influence can perhaps be seen in his interest in the *prōtoi heuretai*, which became a recurrent topic of philosophical biography.<sup>12</sup> Aristoxenus' biography of Pythagoras ascribes to the philosopher the introduction to Greece of measures and weights and the identification of the Evening and the Morning Stars with Venus (fr. 24 Wehrli). Phaenias applies this principle to the more mundane affairs, claiming that Aristippus was πρῶτος τῶν Σωκρατικῶν to charge fees (37). According to Idomeus, Socrates was the first to teach rhetoric together with his student Aeschines (*D.L.* 2.19), which in view of the Epicurean aversion to rhetoric was intended as an accusation.

Another case, when the principle of *prōtos heuretēs* is applied to Phaenias himself, looks more complicated. In the classic book on Greek biography by Friedrich Leo we read: “er hat zuerst den Gedanken ausgeführt, in dem Buche *Περὶ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν*, eine philosophische διαδοχή biographisch zu behandeln.” Leo's claim that Phaenias was a forerunner of Sotion of Alexandria (c. 200 BC), an author of the *Successions of the Philosophers* (*Διαδοχαὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων*), is approvingly repeated in two recent collections of Phaenias'

<sup>11</sup> Mejer (2000) 45; Engels, *FGrHist* 1012, 317.

<sup>12</sup> Leo. (1901) 46–47, 99–100.



fragments,<sup>13</sup> and developed in some other works. It is true that Phaenias' work was used as a building block in the later historiography of philosophy, not only in the successions, but also in the literature on the sects (Περὶ αἱρέσεων), which dealt with the post-Socratic ethical schools. Nevertheless, I see no evidence of Phaenias' acquaintance with the concept διαδοχή or, for that matter, of the existence of this historiographical concept in his time. Sotion's innovative and very influential scheme relied, firstly, on the institutional reality of Hellenistic philosophy, which was organized by schools run by the scholarchs and, secondly, on applying master/disciple relationships both to the philosophers of one school and of different schools, which allowed him to create an all-embracing genealogical chart from Thales to Chrysippus. As far as I can see Phaenias proceeded synchronically, not diachronically, which is to say, by applying the word Σωκρατικοί to several followers of Socrates, authors of the Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι, he treated them as a *group of his students*, which was new enough for his time. It is worth noting that Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle never call Socrates διδάσκαλος or his followers μαθηταί.<sup>14</sup> In **37** Socrates is called διδάσκαλος, but, in fact, we do not know to what extent, if any, he treated all the Socratics as a school. In any case, nothing suggests that Phaenias saw them as Socrates' διάδοχοι, as they are called in Diogenes Laertius 2.47 (Τῶν δὲ διαδεξαμένων αὐτὸν (sc. Socrates) τῶν λεγομένων Σωκρατικῶν οἱ κορυφαιότατοι μὲν Πλάτων, Ξενοφῶν, Ἀντισθένης), or that he was interested in their students. What we can see or presume is a group portrait rather than a succession. In this sense Aristoxenus' Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ is closer to a succession-type literature, for he presented the history of the Pythagorean school over many generations, though not in terms of διαδοχή. Both Aristoxenus and Phaenias left clear traces in the structure of Hellenistic historiography of philosophy, which are visible to us in Diogenes Laertius, books 2 and 8, but we can hardly consider them forerunners of Sotion's *Successions*. Much more promising in this sense is the first book of Theophrastus' Φυσικῶν δόξαι, in which he most probably arranged the Presocratics in two "successions", the first being Thales –

<sup>13</sup> "P. most probably was familiar with the concept of organizing his material as a διαδοχή and used it once in the *On the Socratics*" (Engels, *FGrHist* 1012, p. 321)."

<sup>14</sup> Wolff (1997) 39.

Anaximander – Anaximenes – Anaxagoras – Archelaus, and the second Xenophanes – Parmenides – Leucippus – Democritus – Diogenes.<sup>15</sup>

Since we rely on only two fragments, one of which is a *χρεία* and the other a biographical anecdote, it is impossible to say definitively what the composition of Phaenias' work was. In fact, nothing suggests that this was a formal biography, and not a collection of biographical anecdotes and sayings related to the most distinctive aspects of life and teaching of the Socratics. As distinct from the stories about Themistocles, which are attached to known historical events, anecdotes about Socratics and their sayings are not of a kind that can be easily arranged chronologically. Looking at the biographies of the Socratics in book 2 of Diogenes Laertius one can see that except for the biography of Xenophon, which is based on his writings, most of them consist of anecdotes and sayings, arranged very loosely. Doxographies attached to several of the biographies are organized more logically, but of course they were not a part of Phaenias' work.

This is probably the right place to switch from Phaenias' biographical work to his doxographical fragment, the only one that remains from his writings (**56A–B**). Its structure resembles a Russian *Matroshka*: there are four layers one inside the next. This is not unusual in Greek history of philosophy.<sup>16</sup> The problem, however, is that we find something very strange or even mysterious in each layer of this story. In Plutarch's dialogue *On the Failure of Oracles* a Spartan Cleombrotus explains their decline by the fact that the *daimones* on which they are dependent periodically migrate to the other world, leaving the place desolate. This evokes the topic of the plurality of the worlds, the number of which Plato theoretically limited by five, though he himself recognized only one world (420 F, 421F–422A). Cleombrotus tells a story of a mysterious man, not a Greek, who used to communicate with nymphs and *daimones* rather than with humans (421A–C). This stranger, whom Cleombrotus managed to meet at the Persian Gulf, spoke Doric to him and said that there are 183 worlds, arranged in the form of an equilateral triangle, with each side having 60 worlds and the remaining three being placed at its angles (422A–C).

<sup>15</sup> Zhmud (2006) 160ff.; Zhmud (2013) 164–165.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. e.g. *FGrHist* 1008 F 2 = Hermod. fr. 7–8. Isnardi Parente: Simplicius – Porphyry – Dercyllides – Hermodorus.



Those worlds that are next to one another are in contact and revolve gently as in a dance (ἄπτεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλων ἀτρέμα περι-  
ιόντας ὥσπερ ἐν χορείᾳ). Thus, it is possible for the *daimones* to get from one world to another. A description of the inner area of the cosmic triangle contains many details known from the myth of the soul in Plato's *Phaedrus* (248b–e, 249c). This area, being the common hearth of all (κοινὴ ἐστία πάντων), is called the Plain of Truth (πεδῖον ἀληθείας), on which rest τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα of all past and future things, etc. (56A).<sup>17</sup> All this, says Cleombrotus, “I heard him recite quite as though it were in some rite of mystic initiation, but without offering any demonstration or proof of what he said” (422C, tr. F.C. Babbitt).

The mysterious story of Cleombrotus receives an unexpectedly prosaic reaction from the main character of the dialogue, Plutarch's brother Lamprias. He accuses the stranger of plagiarism, though not of Plato, but of an otherwise completely unknown philosopher Petron (422D–E). This follows from the number of the worlds, he says,

since it is not Egyptian nor Indian, but Dorian and from Sicily, being the idea of a man of Himera named Petron. Petron's own book I have never read nor am I sure that a copy is now extant; but Hippys of Rhegium, whom Phaenias of Eresus mentions, records that this was the opinion and the account of it given by Petron: that there are one hundred and eighty-three worlds in contact with one another according to element (κατὰ στοιχεῖον); but what this is, ‘to be in contact according to element,’ he does not explain further nor subjoin any plausible proof (56B, tr. F.C. Babbitt).

Thus, Lamprias, who is commonly viewed as an *alter ego* of Plutarch, assumes that there was once a βιβλίδιον of Petron, though he did not see it. Petron's opinion is transmitted by Hippys, who mentions (μέμνηται) Phaenias. The role of Phaenias here is more than modest: he is just the last connecting link. Phaenias, however, possesses the indubitable advantage of being a historical personage, which cannot be definitely said about Petron or Hippys.

Indeed, no other ancient writer except for Hippys refers to Petron, which is surprising for an early Greek cosmologist who set forth in a written form such an exotic theory. But was Petron an early Greek

<sup>17</sup> See Cornford (1934) 15 n. 1; Doerrie (1983) 95–110.

cosmologist?<sup>18</sup> Though Diels included him among the oldest Pythagoreans (*DK* 16), because of the alleged similarity of his teaching to number philosophy,<sup>19</sup> too much speaks against this decision. We know nothing of the Pythagoreans in Himera, and in general the Pythagorean presence on Sicily is weak and late. In Syracuse it is dated to the first half of the fourth century BC.<sup>20</sup> Petron's teaching does not look archaic either. It is possible, though not certain, that Anaximander believed in the existence of the multiply *successive* worlds (12 A 9).<sup>21</sup> Anaxagoras allowed for the possibility of another existing world (59 B 4), but finally ruled it out.<sup>22</sup> Leucippus and Democritus suggested an *unlimited* plurality of simultaneously existing worlds, whereas a *limited* plurality of the worlds appeared for the first time in Plato (*Tim.* 55c–d), who was the only Greek philosopher to accept, at least theoretically, this idea. “Petron” could not be older than Plato, and his developed notion of κόσμος also points to the fourth century BC.<sup>23</sup> Thus, a multi-cosmic universe, regardless who its real author was, a philosopher Petron or a forger, is post-Platonic.<sup>24</sup> An Old Academy played with numbers and mathematical objects on a much larger scale than the ancient Pythagoreans,<sup>25</sup> and Petron's play is much closer to the former than to the latter.<sup>26</sup> No historically attested Pythagorean thinker is linked with a plurality of the worlds.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Very few scholars believe in this, see e.g. Huxley (1968) 55–57; Vizzini (1992) 319–346. For complete bibliography and discussion, see Macris (2011) 246–263.

<sup>19</sup> For those who shared this view, see Macris (2011) 252.

<sup>20</sup> Hicetas, Ecphantus (*DK* 50–51), Damon, and Phintias (Aristox. fr. 31 Wehrli).

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. Cornford (1934); Finkelberg, (1994) 485–506; Couprie (2011) 222–223. Cf. Kahn (1960) 46–53, and Panayides (2010) 288–302, who defend a thesis of the single world in Anaximander.

<sup>22</sup> Sider (2005), 100–101; Burkert (1997) 38–42. For other interpretations of Anaxagoras B 4, see: Curd (2007), 214ff.; Sedley (2007) 15ff., with further references.

<sup>23</sup> Kerschensteiner (1962) 210–211.

<sup>24</sup> Cornford (1934) 14; West (1992) 110, additional note.

<sup>25</sup> Zhmud (2012), 407–408, 425ff. See, e.g.: “The first triangle is the equilateral which has in a sense only one side and one angle,” Speusippus, fr. 28 Tarán.

<sup>26</sup> Cf., however, speculative reconstructions: Huxley (1968); West (1992).

<sup>27</sup> See, however, a doxographical note, based on a dialogue of Heraclides Ponticus, which featured the Pythagoreans: Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν γῆν περιέχοντα ἀέρα τε ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ αἰθέρι (Aët. II 13,15 = fr. 113a Wehrli = 75A Schütrumpf). Gottschalk (1980) 58ff., 82–83; Keyser (2009) 205–235; Couprie (2011) 221–222.



Hippys of Regium, the only *Gewährsmann* of Petron's teaching and existence, is a very dubious source as well. According to the *Suda*, which preserves the only available information about Hippys, he was the first historian of Italy and Sicily, living at the time of the Persian wars, which makes him an older contemporary of Herodotus. (This explains Diels' dating of Petron without making it plausible.) He wrote numerous works—*Ktisis Italias*, *Sikelika*, *Italika*, *Argolika*—neither of which remained; the number of Hippys' available fragments is absolutely insignificant and their content is very doubtful (on which, see below). Following Wilamowitz and especially Jacoby,<sup>28</sup> most German and many English-speaking scholars believe that this would-be earliest historian of Magna Graecia never existed, whereas the epitome of his never written numerous works was fabricated shortly before Phaenias, who is the first to mention Hippys.<sup>29</sup> To be sure, most Italian historians, following G. De Sanctis, assume that a historian Hippys did exist, either in the fifth century BC, or at the end of the fourth century,<sup>30</sup> but they have as yet been unable to refute convincingly the arguments of the sceptics.

Thus, the only source of Petron's theory that does not arouse any suspicion is Phaenias, though his evidence also poses a lot of questions. With its doxographical contents it does not suit Phaenias' writings, whether polemical, biographical, or historical. Wehrli related it to the work on the Sicilian tyrants,<sup>31</sup> but the only thing that connects Petron with Sicilian tyrants is his origin in Himera. Is it enough for his cosmology to be mentioned in a historical work? Cornford, who rightly related Petron's theory to the post-Platonic period, pointed out: "It was not unusual for historians to refer to cosmological speculations."<sup>32</sup> In fact, I failed to find any example of such references, at least in the historical works of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. It is hard to say, what the context of Phaenias' quotation from Hippys was and how extensive. Equally problematic is the issue of what was common to

<sup>28</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884) 442–452; Jacoby (1955) 482ff.

<sup>29</sup> See, e.g.: Fritz (1967) n. 136; Burkert (1972) 114 n. 35; Walbank (1968–69) 477–478; Pearson (1987) 8–9.

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g.: De Sanctis (1958) 1–8; Pareti (1959) 106–112; Giangiulio (1992) 303–364; Vanotti (2002) 33–54; Vattuone (2007) 189–190. Cf. also Macris (2011) 252–253.

<sup>31</sup> Wehrli (1969) 31.

<sup>32</sup> Cornford (1934) 14.

Cleombrotus' detailed description of a multi-cosmic universe and Phaenias' short reference to it.

Trying to answer the last question we should return to Plutarch's text. Most commentators concur that the figure of the Oriental sage and his Platonizing theory on the plurality of the worlds are indeed creations of Plutarch himself.<sup>33</sup> Scholarly opinion as to how much Plutarch's picture owes Petron's theory as quoted by Phaenias is divided. According to a maximalist position, these two versions practically coincide, so that everything told by Cleombrotus may be related to Petron. This makes him a Platonist with quite an extravagant cosmological theory, which nevertheless remained practically unknown. From Plutarch's text, however, it does not follow that the two theories are virtually the same. Moreover, some manifestly Platonic features of Plutarch's version, such as that human souls are allowed to see the cosmic spectacle once in ten thousand years or that philosophy has to frame recollection of what was seen in the other world, suit the context of Cleombrotus' eschatological narration much better than that of cosmological theory. Viewed from a moderate position, only the mathematical part of the theory is original; the rest is later Platonistic embellishment.<sup>34</sup> Finally, if one takes a minimalist approach, as does for example, Andrea Rescigno in his commentary on the Plutarchan dialogue, then the only common element of the two theories is the one explicitly mentioned: 183 worlds in contact with one another *κατὰ στοιχεῖον*,<sup>35</sup> which meant, according to the prevailing opinion, the same as *κατὰ στοῖχον*, "in a row."<sup>36</sup>

Whatever position one takes, I believe, one must concede that the distinctively Platonic features of Petron's cosmology, including its mathematical and astronomical part, are ineradicable. It was Plato who was interested in significant numbers bigger than ten like the nuptial number (*R.* 546b4) or the Great Year (*Tim.* 39b), calling them τέλειος ἀριθμός. Revealingly, Plato makes an equilateral triangle the main constitutive element of the five regular bodies and, respectively, of the whole cosmos (*Tim.* 54a–b). Earlier in the dialogue Plutarch

<sup>33</sup> Rescigno (1995), note 192.

<sup>34</sup> Diels (1899) 64; Brenk (1977) 98; West (1992) 105.

<sup>35</sup> Rescigno (1995) 349 (note 192).

<sup>36</sup> Diels (1899) 65; Burkert (1982) 123 n. 139 ('in Reihe'); Rescigno (1995) 354 (note 203), with further references.



notes that Xenocrates, Plato's student, compared the equilateral triangle to the nature of the gods (416C–D), and this is typical for the Platonists. Even if we confine ourselves to the bare bones of the theory mentioned by Phaenias, which is to say, to the number of the worlds (equal to the number of the days in half a year), it is easy to see that 183 can be divided only by 3, and since the worlds are 1) in contact with one another, and 2) stand in a row, the *only* possible meaningful arrangement for them is again the equilateral triangle. Indeed, being arranged in a line, the first and the last world would not contact each other, whereas a circle or a square does not conform to the fact that the number of the worlds in the universe is divisible only by three. Thus, though triangular form of Petron's universe is not explicitly mentioned in Phaenias' account,<sup>37</sup> it is certainly inherent to it. Finally, the idea of the limited plurality of the coexistent worlds, which Plato briefly discussed in the *Timaeus* (55 C–D), has the only parallel in Greek philosophy: Petron's universe with the 183 worlds, arranged in a triangle.

There is another interesting parallel to the form of Petron's universe, this time in Epicurus. Epicurus challenged one of the basic notions of Greek natural philosophy, firmly held by Plato and Aristotle, *viz.*, that the cosmos is spherical. Recapitulating his theory of the celestial phenomena in the letter to Pythocles, Epicurus asserts that the cosmos can be not only spherical but also triangular or of any other shape, inasmuch as none of the phenomena contradicts these possibilities (D.L. 10.89). No other Greek philosopher, to my knowledge, expressed such ideas. Thus, Plato in the *Timaeus* discusses, though hardly seriously, the idea of the limited plurality of the coexistent worlds, and Epicurus allows that a cosmos might have a triangular form. Petron's universe is much more densely populated with worlds than Plato's, and it is the universe as a whole that has triangular form, not every separate cosmos, as in Epicurus. Still, I incline to believe that a combination of these untrivial ideas allows us to date Petron's theory to the end of the fourth century. We should not expect too much originality from a forger.

After the mid-fourth century BC there were no Pythagoreans,<sup>38</sup> so the Pythagorean origin of Petron's theory is very problematic. Another

<sup>37</sup> As Rescigno (1995) 355 reminds us.

<sup>38</sup> Zhmud (2012) 108–109.

alleged Pythagorean link concerns not Petron himself, but his *Ge-währsmann* Hippys. It is stated in the *Suda*'s entry on Hippys that he was the first to write τὰς Σικελικὰς πράξεις, which was later epitomized by Myes (*FGrHist* 554 T 1). Myes is a very rare name; it is attested only once in the whole of Greek literature, namely in the catalogue of the Pythagoreans compiled by Aristoxenus (*Iamb. VP* 267 = *DK* I, 447.6). Wilamowitz hypothesized that this Myes was a pseudo-Pythagorean writer of the mid-third century BC, who invented Hippys of Rhegium; Jacoby shared this idea, but dated this Myes–Hippys to the end of the fourth century BC in order to make him earlier than Phaenias or at least contemporary with him.<sup>39</sup> This is an attractive, but not a very plausible theory. The Pythagorean Myes of Poseidonia is just a name in the catalogue. Nothing is known about him, so why would somebody write under his name and, what is more, not as an author but as an epitomator of the historian Hippys of Rhegium, who also had to be invented, not to say about Petron? This is too complicated for the Pseudo-Pythagorica, which incidentally includes practically no historical writings, only philosophical treatises and letters. We have to deal with Hippys separately from his epitomator with the very rare name Myes.

In the few scattered fragments which remain from Hippys, or pseudo-Hippys, two tendencies can be discerned. First, he reports the same things as other historians, e.g. Hellanicus of Lesbos (F 8) or Hecataeus of Abdera (F 7). In one case he borrows, with insignificant alterations, a story known from the votive inscription in the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidaurus, which is dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BC, about a woman who had a huge worm that no physician could remove. She went to Epidaurus, where the servants of the god removed her head from her neck and drew out the worm, but were unable to restore her head to the body—that was accomplished only by the god, who came somewhat later (F 2).<sup>40</sup> The other Hippys' tendency is to tell something that is unattested by any ancient source and contradicts generally accepted opinions. Thus, describing a certain cult place in Sicily he dates its origin to the time when King Epainetos was reigning at Athens in the 36<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, which is in the years 636/2 BC, when Arytamas the Spartan won in the *stadion* (F 3). Now,

<sup>39</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884) 449–450; Jacoby (1955) 482–483.

<sup>40</sup> See Pareti (1959) 108–109; Pearson (1987) 9–10.



there were no kings in Athens in the seventh century. Moreover, "no writer in the Greek chronological tradition would have confused Athenian kings and archons; no Athenian king is called Epainetos; the victor of the 36<sup>th</sup> Olympiad was Phrynon the Athenian; and there is no Arytamas the Lakonian in the victor-list at all."<sup>41</sup>

The story about Petron's triangular multiverse possesses similar features: it is both sensational and unknown to anybody else except Hippys, which provides serious grounds for doubting the existence of Petron and his βιβλίδιον. We cannot exclude the existence of such a pseudepigraph, but by accepting it we accept two pseudepigrapha in a row, which is unlikely. It seems more plausible that Hippys, or someone writing under this name at the end of the fourth century, someone who was familiar with the philosophy of his time and especially with cosmology of another Dorian from Magna Graecia, Timaeus of Locri, made up the cosmological theory of Petron, which very soon attracted Phaenias' attention. The other Peripatetics and the other readers of Hippys remained unimpressed, and Petron had to wait for four centuries before Plutarch decided to use him for his own and even more incredible story of the Oriental holy man.

If this reconstruction is basically correct, it may affect the date of Phaenias' death, which is usually placed at 300 BC or even earlier. I agree with W. Fortenbaugh that we do not know exactly when Phaenias died: the *Suda*'s information that he lived "in the 111<sup>th</sup> Olympiad and later during the time of Alexander the Great" is too general to take 336–332 as Phaenias' acme.<sup>42</sup> There are several other students of Aristotle, for example, Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus, who are dated in the *Suda* by the time of Alexander and his followers (Aristox. fr. 1). This chronological cliché does not imply that all of them lived ca. 370–300. In fact, nothing prevents us from supposing that Phaenias was born ca. 360/355 and lived well into the third century. This better corresponds to the fact that he was influenced by Aristoxenus<sup>43</sup> and that he quoted Hippys, who can hardly be dated earlier than the end of the fourth century.

<sup>41</sup> Cadoux (1948) 91.

<sup>42</sup> Fortenbaugh W. W. "Two Eresians: Phainias and Theophrastus", in this volume, p. 102–103.

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 273–274, 276.

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## 9

# Phainias' Historical and Biographical Fragments on Solon and Themistokles (26–34)

*Johannes Engels*

### I.1 Introduction

More than 40 years ago F. Wehrli published the last collection of all the fragments of Phainias of Eresos' works in his monumental study *Die Schule des Aristoteles* (*SdA* Heft IX, 1969<sup>2</sup>). In significant contrast to F. Jacoby's decision in his *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (*FGrH*) Wehrli did not differentiate clearly between a "Testimonium" and a "Fragment". The Swiss scholar began his widely used collection with seven texts (Fr. 1–7 W = **1–7**) on the Eresian Peripatetic's life and works.<sup>1</sup> Then followed all the other texts that were known to him at that date, on philosophical, biographical, historical, thaumasiographical, and biological or botanical issues. These texts testify to the astonishingly broad range of Phainias' fields of interest.

<sup>1</sup> On Phainias' life and works, see still the basic article in *RE* by Laqueur (1938), also cf. briefly Wehrli (1983) 552–554, and Wehrli, Wöhrle and Zhmud (2004) 588–590 and literature on page 655; for more detailed introductions see Engels (1998) 266–351, esp. 290–296, and most recently Schneider's entry in *DPhA* (2012) 266–273. In this volume see p. 101–131 and 133–146.

The new RUSCH edition offers some more texts, which are of interest for Phainias' biography or add other details to our knowledge of his works.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately these additional fragments do not preserve any fresh information about hitherto unknown writings and titles. The scholarly discussion remains open on the question to which of Phainias' known works certain fragments should be ascribed (esp. some fragments on philosophical topics and the important group of historical and biographical texts, see below). However, for instance **8–9** (not in Wehrli *SdA*) are new key sources for establishing the year 322 BC as a certain *terminus post quem* of Phainias' death, since Phainias is also mentioned in a passage which Aristotle wrote in his will.<sup>3</sup> In comparison with Wehrli's collection the size of some fragments and the constitution of the Greek text have been changed in view of recent scholarship. Thus the size and the text of the fragments on the *axones* and *kyrbeis*, which are derived from earlier treatises of Asklepiades and Seleukos and which are now preserved in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and in the *Suda* (**28A/B**), for instance, have been changed. They follow now J. P. Sickinger's text in the entries in *Brill's New Jacoby*.<sup>4</sup> Over the last decade terminological problems concerning the precise definition of a fragment of ancient historical, biographical and philosophical authors and texts have been actively debated. This discussion<sup>5</sup> has also been helpful in differentiating a fragment *sensu*

<sup>2</sup> On the new additional texts see the concordance p. 90–93 with the earlier collections by F. Wehrli (1969<sup>2</sup>) and—only for the historical and biographical fragments—by Engels (1998) 351 in *FGrH* IV A 1, Phainias of Eresos 1012. For an overview of the history of scholarship on Phainias' fragments and some critical remarks to earlier collections see Dorandi p. 147–169 in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> On the scanty and very incomplete pieces of information about basic dates and facts of Phainias' life, see again Schneider (2012) 267–8. In Engels (1998) 290 I suggested a later year for Phainias' birth (ca. 365 BC) than ca. 373 BC, which has been assumed by most modern scholars since the time of Laqueur. How many years Phainias may have lived after Aristotle's death in 322 BC cannot be estimated. It is a striking detail that Phainias is not mentioned in his friend's Theophrastos' will after his death in 288/7 or 287/6 BC. Some scholars accept this date as a probable *terminus ante quem* of Phainias' death. But an earlier date at the end of the fourth century BC cannot be ruled out.

<sup>4</sup> See Sickinger on Asklepiades in *Brill's New Jacoby* (BNJ) 339 F 1 and on Seleukos in BNJ 341 F 2.

<sup>5</sup> On methodological problems of collecting and editing fragments of ancient Greek authors and also on the definition of the key terms fragment, testimony, context, paratext or 'cover-text' see, e.g., Lens (1992) 739–746, Most (1997), Most (1998), Burkert (1998) and Schepens (2000) 1–29.



*stricto* from a testimony, a mere paraphrase, or contexts and ‘para-texts’ to a certain fragment. This interesting scholarship has also entailed some consequences with respect to the length of some historical and biographical fragments of Phainias’ works on which this paper focuses (26–34).

Phainias shared a broad thematic scope in his writings, his curiosity, and inquisitiveness with most other known Peripatetics of the first and second generation after Aristotle. However, Phainias’ historical and biographical fragments on Solon and Themistokles add up to about a third of all preserved fragments of this author. Hence, they clearly form a group of texts that are of key importance to our opinion of this Eresian author. Moreover, given the generally unsatisfying condition of preservation of Phainias’ works, the sheer length of some of these historical and biographical fragments increases their relevance to all scholarship on Phainias. Although there can be no doubt that other fragments on philosophical topics, on botany, and on biology are of equal importance for a fair assessment of Phainias as an ancient scholar and writer, because of their relative length only (some of) these historical and biographical fragments also allow study of his style and some cautious suggestions as to his preferred literary techniques.

To judge from the comparatively small total number of fragments, Phainias was obviously less often read and quoted by later ancient and Byzantine authors than other early Peripatetics. Given Phainias’ broad thematic scope this rare and narrow reception still needs a convincing explanation. In my view, Phainias’ individual style of writing should not be suggested as a significant obstacle to a broader reception of his many works. Several of his biographical and historical fragments offer thrilling reading matter, and Phainias displays a command of many literary and rhetorical devices. Perhaps the simple fact that for years Phainias was away from Athens, the centre of activity for the Peripatetics and all the other major philosophical schools, had a negative influence on his reception.<sup>6</sup> I would also suggest that he may have

<sup>6</sup> That Phainias was away from Athens for some time has been usually concluded from the letters which his friend Theophrastos wrote to him from Athens. See 3–5. During the political crisis of his home island Lesbos in the early years of Alexander’s campaign 334/333 BC Phainias was actively involved in the fighting against tyranny (cf. 7). I tentatively suggested in Engels (1998) 290 that Phainias may not have settled in Athens at all before 322 BC. On the history of Lesbos in the fourth century BC see Labarre (1996), esp. 23–42.



held some dissenting, minority opinions on certain philosophical Peripatetic tenets, as Phainias often does in his biographical writings, where he disagrees with majority versions. If so, this attitude might easily have influenced his later reception in a negative way.

Our earliest sources that preserve his historical and biographical fragments (26–34), Plutarch's *Lives* of Solon and Themistokles, quote no fewer than seven texts. To these we may add only one that stems from the poikilographical tradition in Athenaios' *Deipnosophistai*, another in the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, and finally one in the *Suda* as the latest ancient and Byzantine source that quotes from this work (or these works?) of Phainias.<sup>7</sup> Clearly Plutarch must be called by far the most important ancient author in the *Nachleben* of Phainias' historical and biographical works. And Plutarch's *Life of Themistokles*<sup>8</sup>—written more than 400 years after Phainias' date—turns out to be the most important single work in the history of the reception of the Eresian as a historian and biographer. Athenaios of Naukratis with his *Deipnosophistai* (ca. 200 AD) may be well compared with Plutarch because of his central role in the history of the reception of Phainias' thorough studies on botany and biology in his treatise *On Plants* (a major work in at least five books; the original Greek title is not certain, perhaps it was *Peri Phyton* or *Phytika* or *Phyton Historiai*). 43 and 50 testify to thematic overlaps and common scientific interests between Phainias' *On Plants* and Theophrastos' more influential similar books. Nevertheless, Phainias' botanical and biological studies were regarded by ancient critics as examples of serious scholarship too. In his *Naturalis Historia* (41 and 54) the well-read encyclopedist Pliny, for instance, called Phainias *physicus*.<sup>9</sup> To sum up, today modern scholars necessarily see Phainias through the selective lenses of Plutarch and Athenaios.

<sup>7</sup> See my full commentary on these fragments (with complete parallel sources and references to scholarly literature) in Engels (1998) 320–342. These commentaries should be consulted as a necessary supplement to this paper.

<sup>8</sup> The best critical edition of Plutarch's *Life of Themistokles* (and also of the *Life of Solon*) remains Ziegler's *Teubneriana* (1969<sup>4</sup>). For a thorough and reliable commentary on the *Life of Themistokles* see still Frost (1980). On parallel literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence, as well as scholarly literature, see *inter alia* Podlecki (1975) and Podlecki and Duane (1992) 4053–4127, and especially on early fifth-century opinions on Themistokles cf. Blösel (2004).

<sup>9</sup> *Physicus* means in German a 'Naturwissenschaftler' or a natural scientist in a broad sense. Schneider (2012) 270 chose the translation "le naturaliste." On Phainias' botanical fragments see as a still useful study Meyer (1854) 189–193; among more



I would like to add that we can almost rule out the possibility that the later sources of our historical and biographical fragments, the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the *Suda*<sup>10</sup> (as opposed to their significantly earlier sources, the grammarians Asklepiades and Seleukos) still had any direct access to Phainias' original works. A majority of modern scholars holds that Plutarch, however, still directly consulted Phainias' historical or biographical works, when he prepared his *Lives* of Solon and of Themistokles. Today, the *communis opinio* rejects an earlier theory that Plutarch worked on the basis of intermediate hellenistic biographical sources in his *Lives* of Greeks of the sixth and fifth centuries BC. For the sake of brevity in this paper I simply refer readers to the discussion about the importance of Hermippos of Smyrna as one such overvalued intermediate source.<sup>11</sup> If one takes into account the great number of earlier works (including many rarely known in the late second and early third century AD) from which Athenaios of Naukratis quotes in his *Deipnosophistai*, in my opinion at least it seems quite probable that he still read Phainias' original works too.<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately none of the four ancient and Byzantine authorities who preserve the historical and biographical fragments explicitly mentions the precise title of Phainias' original work (or works) from

recent studies cf. Althoff (1999), 155–180, especially 159–160, and in this volume the stimulating papers by Siede, Anceschi and Zucker p. 351–405 with literary references. Wehrli and Wöhrle and Zhmud (2004) 588 accepted Phainias' "aus Vorlesungsunterlagen entstandenen botanischen Schriften" as a "Beleg für eine Lehrtätigkeit im Peripatos." If so, one must ask when precisely we should date Phainias' activity as a teacher in Athens? Was he teaching there along with Theophrastos at the end of the fourth or in the early third century BC?

<sup>10</sup> The importance of the *Suda* as a key source for earlier ancient Greek historians, biographers and other authors is discussed in two recent collections of articles, see Zecchini (1999) and Vanotti (2010).

<sup>11</sup> The unnecessary hypothesis of Plutarch's hellenistic intermediate biographical sources was refuted already by Ed. Meyer (1899) 1–87. His arguments, which he developed primarily with regard to the *Life of Kimon*, hold true also for the *Lives* of Solon and of Themistokles. For an overview of this controversy and Hermippos of Smyrna's influence as a hellenistic Peripatetic biographer see the thorough studies by Bollansée (1999a and 1999b). While Hermippos can indeed be demonstrated as an intermediate source for other authors (e.g. Philodemos), this does not apply to Plutarch in his *Lives* of Solon and Themistokles.

<sup>12</sup> On Athenaios' methods of working and the level and niveau of his historical knowledge, see Zecchini (1989) and the papers collected in Braund and Wilkins (2000).

which these texts are taken. Hence, the modern scholarly discussion about this core problem in our present context remains unsettled. Do these interesting texts actually derive from a single biography or from a series of biographies? If so, they must be counted among the earliest examples of ancient Greek biographies on members of the political and military elite. Of course, biographical writing about philosophers and poets had started already a long time before Phainias. Other scholars have suggested as the source of these fragments a historical treatise with biographical examples as useful illustrations in a Peripatetic style. A systematic philosophical treatise on *Bioi* as ‘Lebensformen’ or on ethical activity in political life especially during periods of crisis also would be a possibility. Others, again, suggested an early example of a *Diadochai*-work on politicians and demagogues. To me, each scholar’s personal preferences in this question seem to depend strongly on his or her general views on Phainias as an author as well as on his opinion about early Greek biography as a literary genre. At present, it is simply impossible to answer definitely the question of the genre of Phainias’ original work.<sup>13</sup>

### **I.2. The futile efforts to detect additional ‘fragments’ in Plutarch’s *Solon* and *Themistokles* and errors of excessive ‘Quellenforschung’**

A series of articles and books published from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century right up to the most recent scholarship on Phainias testifies to the ultimately futile efforts to detect by means of German *Quellenforschung* additional ‘fragments’ of Phainias in Plutarch’s *Lives* of Solon and Themistokles that might be added to the comparatively small set of undisputed texts. The most important contributions to this discussion were made by L. Bodin and R. Laqueur.<sup>14</sup> They took the

<sup>13</sup> Today most scholars agree at least on rejecting the old suggestion made by Müller (in *FHG* II 299) that all these historical and biographical fragments would come from Phainias’ *Prytaneis of Eresos*. For recent overviews on this debate and suggestions on the genre of Phainias’ original work (or works), see Cooper (1995) 323–335, Engels (1998) 320–321, and Muccioli (2008) 461–480.

<sup>14</sup> Lists of passages allegedly coming from Phainias as Plutarch’s source were already compiled by Bodin (1915) 251–281 and (1917) 117–157, see also Laqueur (1938) 1567–1575, Mühl (1955) 349–354 and (1956) 315–323, or von der Mühl (1942) 89–102. For an overview see Engels (1998) 332 note 181. See also Frost’s



few certain fragments as their starting-point and then proceeded to ascribe more and more other passages in these *Lives* to Phainias, that they regarded as to a certain degree similar, although Plutarch never mentions Phainias there as his source. In my opinion one can easily propose other and equally probable ancient sources for each of these additional texts as plausible alternatives to Phainias.

Wehrli rightly rejected such attempts as highly speculative pursuits of a dubious method: their “unerwiesene Voraussetzung”<sup>15</sup> would be that Plutarch’s source was a separate biography on Themistokles, written by Phainias, which offered a continuous narration of the Athenian’s complete life. Until now, however, nobody has been able to demonstrate that such an early biography was actually written<sup>16</sup> and that it was the most plausible source of these fragments. One should stress the observation that, contrary to other early Peripatetics, Plutarch never explicitly calls Phainias a biographer. Hence, none of these additional texts—more than a dozen passages in the *Life of Themistokles* alone—has not been included in the new RUSCH collection of Phainias’ fragments, even under the heading ‘uncertain fragments’ (or in Wehrli’s terminology as a *fragmentum incertum*).

### I.3. The special importance of fragments 26–34 in comparison with Phainias’ other ‘biographical’ fragments

A brief look at Phainias’ other works that preserve fragments with ‘biographical’ content in a broad sense will be helpful to show the fundamental importance of fragments **26–34** for our opinion on Phainias as a biographer and historian. To judge from the title *Against Diodoros* (most probably Diodoros ‘Kronos’ of Megara; **14**) was no biography, but a kind of philosophical polemic (*antigraphe*) or a treatise on metaphysical problems and a critique of Plato’s theory of forms (*Ideenlehre*). The very few fragments of *The Prytaneis of*

commentary (1980) 209–211. Cooper (1995) and Muccioli (2008) were rightly very cautious in accepting any of these passages as an additional fragment of Phainias.

<sup>15</sup> Wehrli (1969) 34–35 in his commentary on Fr. 23–28 W.

<sup>16</sup> I refer to Momigliano’s (1993) 77–78 well-balanced remarks on Phainias of Eresos. Momigliano, without any doubt one of the leading experts on the development of Greek biography, stated with respect to our fragmentary knowledge about Phainias as an author: “it would be absurd to deny altogether that Phainias wrote biographies; but it is a waste of time to guess what sort of biography Phainias may have written, since we cannot be certain that there even was biography by Phainias.”

*Eresos* (22–25)<sup>17</sup> display more clearly a focus on chronological problems and miraculous events than a special biographical or historical interest. In this work Phainias did not study chronological problems simply for their own sake, but on the basis of these studies he created a reliable framework for his narration of short thrilling stories and anecdotes.<sup>18</sup> *On the Tyrants of Sicily* (16–17 and 56A/B) and *Tyrants Killed in Revenge* (18–21)<sup>19</sup> were possibly early serial biographies. However, the few preserved fragments indicate that both of these works were still heavily indebted to Aristotle's discussion of tyrants, his philosophical critique of tyranny as a political disease, and his examples of individual tyrants.<sup>20</sup> Phainias illustrated Aristotle's theoretical position with individual examples and very readable stories. Hence, some scholars have suggested that *On the Tyrants of Sicily* and *Tyrants Killed in Revenge* were simply collections of brief stories.<sup>21</sup> *On Poets* (38)<sup>22</sup> primarily belongs to a history of literature, which for a Peripatetic author of course also included topics such as history of music and musical inventions, or chronological problems with the sequence of works or in the lives of certain authors. Because we know of only two undisputed fragments, *Against the Sophists* remains for us a very enigmatic treatise (15A/B).<sup>23</sup> I would assume that it was rather a systematic critique of the sophists' concept of education and of prominent sophists than an early example of a biographically focused *Successions*-work on wise men and politicians (demagogues). Precisely this suggestion, however, was defended by C. Cooper,<sup>24</sup> who proposed to ascribe all our preserved fragments on Solon and Themistokles (26–34) to a historical treatise composed as a kind of

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the full commentary in Engels (1998) 311–317.

<sup>18</sup> On the importance of Phainias' fragments on chronology see fragments 24–25 and 27, and two studies by Mosshammer (1977) 105–132, and *idem* (1979) more generally on ancient Greek chronographical tradition. See also again the commentaries in Engels (1998) 311–317. Cf. in this volume Cooper p. 253–271.

<sup>19</sup> See for a commentary Engels (1998) 300–311.

<sup>20</sup> See Engels (1998) 300 and cf. Aristotle *Politics* 5,10 1311 a 25–27 and a 31–1313 a 15.

<sup>21</sup> See for this opinion most recently Schütrumpf 323–350 in this volume.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Engels (1998) 319–320.

<sup>23</sup> Cooper (1995) 332 prefers a translation of the title as *In Response to the Sophists* and he does not regard this treatise primarily as a polemic *antigraphe* against the sophists.

<sup>24</sup> See Cooper (1995). Muccioli (2008) 467–468 considered this suggestion a plausible hypothesis.



*Diadoche* of wise men and politicians. According to Cooper, Phainias probably intended to illustrate the transition from early wise and worthy-of-imitation *andres politikoi* to later and merely clever *sophistai*. Themistokles' career may have marked a turning-point in this process of deterioration. Thus Cooper suggested ascribing the complete group of historical and biographical fragments on Solon and Themistokles to Phainias' *Against the Sophists*. However, I hesitate to agree with this proposal for several reasons. First, although the literary concept of a *Diadoche* may perhaps have been already known to Phainias, chronological problems with the sequence of generations of Athenian politicians remain unresolved. Then, at present—and without counting the fragments on Solon and Themistokles—we know of only two undisputed fragments coming from *Against the Sophists* (15A/B). This fragment is a weak textual basis on which to support Cooper's suggestion since it shows no connection at all to the idea of a *Diadoche* but deals with the miserable quality of the poetic works of Telenikos and Argas. Moreover, the key term *sophistes* is not mentioned in any of Phainias' undisputed fragments on Solon and Themistokles. In my view, these fragments do not show any content that is very typical of a later philosophical or biographical *Successions*-work. We do not find the main topic of a clear succession of teachers and disciples (in this case Mnesiphilos and Themistokles),<sup>25</sup> nor a chronological sequence of demagogues (for instance Kleisthenes – Themistokles – Ephialtes – Perikles), nor characteristic catalogues of writings and lists of doctrines. Finally, *On the Socratics* (36–37)<sup>26</sup> is another interesting, although enigmatic work. If indeed that treatise presented a serial biography of Socratic philosophers arranged as a *Diadoche*, it would be of the highest importance to the development of early Greek (and especially Peripatetic) biography. Some biographical texts on Sokrates himself and individual early Socratics had been published earlier. But—as far as we know—Phainias' *On the Socratics* would be

<sup>25</sup> Admittedly, a succession from Mnesiphilos to Themistokles is mentioned once in Plutarch's *Themistokles* 2.6–7, but without any reference to Phainias. Moreover, there remain serious chronological problems with the dates of the two main people involved in this succession, see Frost (1980) 68, and Muccioli (2008) 466–467. There is no sufficient reason to include this passage in the new collection of Phainias' fragments.

<sup>26</sup> See the commentary in Engels (1998) 317–319.

the earliest treatise on the disciples of Socrates as a distinct group of philosophers.<sup>27</sup>

## II. Important topics and elements of criticism in Phainias' fragments on Solon and Themistokles

Each of the following fragments deserves a detailed commentary in this paper as well. For the sake of brevity, however, I would like to refer readers in general to my full commentaries in *FGrH continued* IV A 1 (1998). In the following parts of my paper I focus on selected topics and problems and add some further thoughts to my earlier commentaries with regard to recent scholarship.

### II.1. The fragments on Solon (Fr. 20–22a/b W = 26–28A/B)

Phainias dealt with the three fields of Solon's political activity that most shaped the collective memory of his fellow-citizens<sup>28</sup> and directed their controversial contemporary debates about him as a reformer and law-giver during the fourth century BC. In Phainias' time different political groups attempted to make use of Solon's prestige as a weapon in their daily conflicts:

1) **26** comes from a narration of the famous Solonian *seisachtheia* or abolition of debts, which created the basis for the inalienable personal freedom of Athenian citizens in future generations.<sup>29</sup>

2) **27** reminds us of Solon's brave fight against Peisistratos' *Macht-ergreifung* (seizure of power) and his unconstitutional rule as a tyrant

<sup>27</sup> For an introduction to the genre of philosophical *Diadochai* see Giannattasio Andria (1989) 16–28. The early history of these bio-doxographical works (of the third and second centuries BC) will be discussed in a planned new volume of the series *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker continued* (IV A).

<sup>28</sup> For rich bibliographical references to scholarly literature on Solon see Blok and Lardinois (2006); Phainias' group of fragments on Solon has been studied by von der Mühl (1942), and Mühl (1955) and (1956); for a full commentary of the *Life of Solon* see Manfredini and Piccirilli (1977) and cf. Ruschenbusch (1994) 351–380, Cooper (1995), Engels (1998) 320–327, and recently Leão (2003–2004) 51–62; on legendary traditions about Solon and (mis)use of the Solon myth in fourth-century political strife and by orators and historians see Ruschenbusch (1958) 398–424 and Hansen (1990) 71–100.

<sup>29</sup> See on the *seisachtheia* again Blok and Lardinois (2006) and Zunino (2004) 5–15; on the inalienability of the personal freedom of Athenian citizens, see Manville (1990).



in Athens.<sup>30</sup> This often treated topic is typical of Phainias' biographical interest in Solon as a founding father of democracy and it fits well with Phainias' own fight against tyranny at Eresos (see 7).<sup>31</sup>

3) **28A/B** points to an original context for Solon's *nomothesia* or to a discussion of the controversial authenticity of certain 'Solonian' laws<sup>32</sup> and their public display in Athens on the so-called *kyrbeis* und *axones*. These three topics testify to Phainias' intelligent choice of his main themes on Solon.

### II.1.1. Phainias' opinion on Solon as a wise man and active politician – the *seisachtheia* and *apate* as a legitimate means to the goal of the *soteria* of his polis (26)

The biographer Plutarch's view of Solon was already shaped to a high degree through Solon's own poems from which the philosophical biographer quotes amply. He relies on the canonical historians, from Herodotos to Ephoros, for the basic facts of Solon's career. To Plutarch, however, Phainias appears to have been only an additional minor source of certain details or variants to the versions of his main sources. Our principal reports on the *seisachtheia*, the cancellation of debts in Attika, are preserved in Plutarch's *Solon* (chapter 14) and in the first part of the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (chapter 6). Both sources praise Solon's political intelligence and his personal integrity in solving this grave social crisis, and they generally defend Solon against malicious gossip. Phainias, however, states that Solon systematically and secretly (*kryphai*) cheated both conflicting groups in this *stasis* situation. Solon intentionally used deception (*apate*) as a clever means to the honourable end of saving the *polis* (*soteria*) in an hour of deep crisis. By cheating both conflicting parties he finally solved the problem of the debts and reached his political ideal of *eunomia*. To a Peripatetic philosopher like Phainias intentional deception of fellow-citizens as an acceptable method of good government and a weapon of a wise man in the official position of an *archon* or *diallaktes* must

<sup>30</sup> The most important recent collection on the tyranny of Peisistratos was edited by Sancisi-Weerdenburgh (2000). There one may find rich bibliographical references.

<sup>31</sup> On the history of fourth-century Lesbos and on tyranny at Eresos see again Labarre (1996) 23–42.

<sup>32</sup> Ruschenbusch (1966 repr. 1983) and Martina (1968) offer reliable collections of Solon's laws.

have been a highly interesting topic.<sup>33</sup> To Phainias and his fourth-century contemporaries the topic of political *apate* clearly was of relevance to their present situation. Plato had simply permitted his ideal philosophical rulers to make use of deception, whereas Aristotle in his *Politics* and ethical treatises cautiously avoided detailed discussion of the issue. Phainias surely knew of several personal examples of (mostly Academic) philosophers who became rulers (or tyrants) of their cities,<sup>34</sup> for instance on his home island Lesbos, on Euboia, on the Peloponnese (e.g. Pellene), in Sicily (Syracuse) or Asia Minor (Assos and Atarneus). These people had no problem using regularly *apate* as a political means to secure their position.

Many ancient Greek *poleis* obliged their magistrates to take a solemn oath when they entered their period of office. These oaths and other principles of accountability of magistrates were surely known to Phainias, for instance, from the democratic constitution of his home Eresos. In fourth-century democratic Athens all *archontes* swore an oath to protect and preserve their fellow-citizens' property and the social order of the polis.<sup>35</sup> A long time ago, Mühl discussed the question whether Phainias thought that such an oath was already in existence as early as Solon's year as archon (traditional date 594/93 BC).<sup>36</sup> In that case Solon's clever solution of the debt crisis would have included breaking this oath along with deceiving his fellow-citizens. Most modern historians, however, rightly prefer to date the introduction of this oath of the *archontes* much later, to the reforms of Kleisthenes 508/7 BC or into the context of the restoration of democracy after the Peloponnesian War 403 BC. Since the historical

<sup>33</sup> Phainias' friend Theophrastos collected instructive examples of Athenian politicians and generals (e.g. Themistokles, Aristeides, Perikles or Nikias) who in extraordinary and dangerous situations (*kairoi*) that threatened the stability of the polis or the safety of their armies did things that are usually considered unjust. See on this collection Mirhady 1995 with references.

<sup>34</sup> On philosophers who became tyrants see some nice examples already in Berve (1967) and especially on several disciples of the Platonic academy Trampedach (1994); Phainias obviously treated Chairon of Pellene in some detail, perhaps as a typical example of a philosopher who became tyrant, see *FGrH* 1012 F 6 Engels = **21** which is taken from his serial biography *Tyrants killed in Revenge*, and cf. my commentaries in Engels (1998) 305–311, and Marasco (1985) 111–119.

<sup>35</sup> On the oath of the *archontes* see the commentaries on *Athenaion Politeia* 56,2–3 by Rhodes (1981) 623 and Chambers (1990) 389.

<sup>36</sup> Mühl (1955) 349–354; already Wehrli (1969) 34 dated the oath to a post-Solonian period.



account in *Athenaion Politeia* on Solon (chapters 5–6) in Phainias' view perhaps did not treat this problem sufficiently, Phainias then intentionally added the detail about the *apate* as a means of reaching the goal of the *soteria* of his polis. Adding details and variants to an earlier Aristotelian basic report was a usual practise of Peripatetic scholars. One may presume that Solon's ancient clever regulation of the debt crisis was hotly debated again in this political climate of the 330s. Problems resulting from public and private debt and social crisis were endemic in fourth century BC Greece. There was also the new and innovative 'international' guarantee of the social status quo by the statutes of the League of Corinth. We observe in Athens many different interpretations of Solon's political legacy in the atthidography, in political oratory, and in other literary sources at Phainias' date, that is between ca. 355 and 322 BC. Very different individuals and political groups attempted to profit from Solon's high prestige in their political disputes (e.g. on the *patrios-politeia* programme) and in the law courts. The high relevance of Solon to the current political situation may have motivated Phainias to participate in this discussion about Solon's actions and political methods. As in Solon's case, *apate* as a problematic means to reach honourable ends was also connected as a topic for the biographical and legendary tradition about the political activity of other members of the circle of *Seven Sages* (e.g. Bion and Periandros).<sup>37</sup> In my view (the 'minor' sage and philosopher) Phainias deliberately chose to report this problematic detail about the *apate*, which he may have found in earlier late 5th or early 4th-century rhetorical or atthidographic sources, and he probably regarded this as evidence of a darker, problematic facet of Solon's character, as Leão has recently proposed.<sup>38</sup>

**27** deals with a typical topic of ancient Greek biography. Readers expected a biographer to try to establish the precise dates of his hero's birth and death. If that turned out to be impossible even for famous Athenians of late archaic and classical Athens such as Solon and Themistokles, at least a relative chronology or an approximate

<sup>37</sup> Solon was regularly listed as a member of the venerated circle of the *Seven Sages*. See on the history of the formation of the core group of *Seven Sages* Busine (2002) and Engels (2010). On the topic of *apate* as a political scheme used even by some sages, see Muccioli (2008) 467.

<sup>38</sup> See Leão (2003–4) with earlier literature. He also refers to Polyzelos of Rhodes *FGrH* 521 F 8 (= Plut. *Solon* 15–17) on Solon's political manoeuvres.

date was needed. However, the discussion of Solon's precise year of death was perhaps merely a minor issue for Phainias compared with the key question how the sage and ideal citizen Solon behaved publicly in the face of Peisistratos' attempts to overthrow Solon's *eunomia* and to establish his rule as a tyrant in Athens. For we know that Phainias himself (along with his friend Theophrastos) actively fought tyranny in Eresos.<sup>39</sup>

### II.1.2. Phainias' learned remarks on the Solonian *kyrbeis* (28A/B)

The fourth-century BC contemporary discussion about certain laws that were wrongly ascribed to Solon and about inventions of 'Solonian' laws for rhetorical purposes gives us a plausible context of Phainias' remarks on the Solonian *kyrbeis*. It may suffice here to refer to the common use and crude abuse of Solon's prestige and some allegedly 'Solonian' laws in two court speeches of Phainias' time: Lykurgos' *Against Leokrates* and (even worse) Hypereides' *Against Athenogenes*.<sup>40</sup> Other examples can be found in Isokrates' pamphlets or Androtion's *Atthis*. When a special commission in Athens had scrutinized and published again the existing corpus of laws between ca. 410 and 399 BC only a part of the *nomoi* were accepted as authentic. In the fourth century BC people also actively discussed where exactly and in which form Solon had published and displayed his laws. At Phainias' date there was still much uncertainty about the original function and shape of the famous *kyrbeis* and *axones*. After the Persian attack on Athens in 480 BC and the following destruction of the city no relics of the original Solonian *kyrbeis* and *axones* were preserved.<sup>41</sup>

**28A/B** inform us also about the strong scholarly and antiquarian interests that Phainias shared. The shape and function of the Solonian *axones* and *kyrbeis* were a topic of interest to at least four ancient scholars between the fourth century BC and the early imperial period:

<sup>39</sup> See again **7** = Theophrastus 33A FSH&G, and add on Theophrastos' activity also Plutarch *adv. Colot.* Mor. 1126f = 33B FSH&G.

<sup>40</sup> On Hypereides *Against Athenogenes* or. 5 Jensen see Engels (1993<sup>2</sup>) 241–255. On Lykurgos' speech cf. recently Engels (2008) and Engels (2014).

<sup>41</sup> The ancient evidence on *axones* and *kyrbeis* has been collected by Stroud (1979). For the most recent and complete collection, however, see Davis (2011) 1–35. Polemon the Periegetes strangely claimed to have seen in the Athenian Metroon relics of the original *axones*. In my view, these objects must have been later copies dating from the later 5th or 4th century BC.



The most important authority for Phainias must have been Aristotle himself in his treatise *On the Axones of Solon*, of which unfortunately no fragments remain. After Phainias there came first a scholar named Asklepiades<sup>42</sup> and his *Commentary on the Axones*, which indirectly (through the grammarian Seleukos as an intermediate source) is of decisive importance for the compilation of the text of Phainias' fragment in this collection. The next author, and a critic of Phainias, was the thorough Didymos in his *Antigraphe against Asklepiades' On the Axones*, and finally we learn of Seleukos' apparently derivative *Hypomnema on Solon's Axones* in the first century AD. In our present context it is noteworthy that after Aristotle himself, Phainias along with Theophrastos (in *On Piety*, see Davis 2011, 25) was among the first Peripatetics to attempt a convincing antiquarian and etymological explanation of the meaning of *kyrbeis* and *axones*. Theophrastos derived the term *kyrbeis* from the Korybantes as inventors of the first *kyrbeis*. It seems that Phainias did not agree with this explanation and here we observe two Peripatetics, who were friends, in a scholarly controversy. Phainias referred to the verb *kyroun* (confirm, ratify, make valid) as the root of the technical term *kyrbeis*. Probably Phainias shared the common ancient Greek view among democrats that written laws had a higher authority than merely orally transmitted ones and that written laws found a wider acceptance among people. We learn from the *Suda* and the *Etymologicum Gudianum* that Asklepiades (*Suda* = **28A** = Sickinger Asklepiades BNJ 339 F 1) and Seleukos (*Etymologicum Gudianum* = **28B** = Sickinger Seleukos BNJ 341 F 2) were quoted in the scholarly tradition of late antique and Byzantine *Etymologica* and *Lexica*. To me, there remain doubts whether both of these ancient grammarians still had direct access to Phainias' original works. I would presume this may hold true rather for the earlier Asklepiades than for the later Seleukos.

Among the historical or biographical fragments on Solon and Themistokles on which this paper focuses **28A/B** pose the greatest

<sup>42</sup> At present we cannot precisely establish the identity of this author Asklepiades. If indeed he followed Aristophanes of Byzantion in his preferred etymology of the *kyrbeis*, Asklepiades must have been his contemporary or a later author. Ruschenbusch (1966, 50 note 135) proposed an identification with Asklepiades of Myrlea in the first century BC. Wehrli (1969) 34 preferred Asklepiades of Nikaia or of Alexandria. According to Sickinger's commentary and biographical essay on Asklepiades BNJ 339 (2011a), the question must remain open.



problems concerning the constitution of the Greek text and our understanding of these brief lemmata. The most important scholarly attempts to deal with these two texts differ considerably in their opinions.<sup>43</sup> For instance, the choice of each scholar whether to accept *ousia* or *thysia* in the Greek text in **28A** entails grave consequences for our understanding of Phainias' opinion about the *kyrbeis* and *axones*, as the commentaries in Engels and Sickinger may demonstrate. Jacoby as well as Wehrli surely deal too briefly with the interpretation of these difficult texts. Wehrli (34) merely explained "bei *kyrbis ho tas ousias horisas* wird an die solonische Besteuerung nach Vermögensklassen zu denken sein," which seems to this author an unconvincing hypothesis. In *FGrH* IV A 1 1012 F 16 (text and translation 280–283) I also preferred the reading *ousias*, but I speculated about a legal function of the *kyrbeis* that might have been similar to that of the *horoi* ("legal ownership of land was validated by the letters (sc. of the *kyrbeis*)"). This idea, however, was recently strongly rejected by Sickinger who states in his commentary on Asklepiades: "No ancient source makes such a connection between *kyrbeis* and *horoi*, and corruption from *thysias* to *ousias* is readily explainable on palaeographic grounds. Both *horoi* (Pollux 3.85, 9.9) and *kyrbeis* (Apollodoros *BNJ* 244 F 107) were also associated with *stelai* and *sanides* and that similarity may have contributed to a copyist's error." Sickinger accepts both in **28A** and **28B** *thysias* instead of *ousias* in his text, and hence he translates the crucial passage as follows: "Asklepiades ... derives the word from *kyrbis* who defined the sacrifices. Or, as Phainias of Eresos says, the name is derived from their being ratified (*kyrothenai*) in writing." While preparing this paper I thought my earlier treatment of **28A** and **28B** over and as a result I now prefer to correct my earlier opinion and agree tentatively with Sickinger's text and most elements of his interpretation. This also entails in **28B** (= Seleukos *BNJ* 339 F 2) an expansion of the size of the text of this fragment in the RUSCH collection in comparison with the earlier collections by Jacoby, Wehrli, or Engels (1998). Sickinger's translation of the difficult passage on *kyrbasiai* in Seleukos is attractive, too, although some problems remain (see below). He translated

<sup>43</sup> See F. Jacoby in *FGrH* III Asklepiades 339 F 1 and Seleukos 341 F 2, then F. Wehrli in *Schule des Aristoteles* Fr. 22a/b W, J. Engels in *FGrH* IV A 1 1012 F 16a/b, and most recently J.P. Sickinger in *BNJ* 339 F 1 and *BNJ* 341 F 2.



“named either from their construction (for they are cap-like).” To sum up, according to Sickinger Seleukos (and ultimately as his source Phainias) first associated *kyrbeis* with texts of sacral law or sacred calendars, but then he also accepted an earlier tradition that simply derived the noun *kyrbeis* from their three-angled shape as *stelai*. This form was similar to a Persian hat or *tiara* which alternatively was called a *kyrbasia* (Herodotos *Histories* 5,49; 7,64; cf. Theophrastos 602 FHS&G).

The most detailed recent study on the shape and the original meaning of *kyrbeis* and *axones* has been published by G. Davis.<sup>44</sup> He lists all literary and epigraphical sources in chronological order. He thoroughly scrutinizes this source material, searching for pieces of information about the shape of the *kyrbeis* and *axones*, their material, and probable content. According to Davis *axones* were not merely a synonym of *kyrbeis*. Testimonies of the term *axones* that are known to this point do not date from earlier than the end of the fifth century BC. Davis assumes that they were four-sided, wooden, and turnable objects on which the Athenians exclusively published the authentic Solonian laws after the diligent revision of the corpus of all Athenian laws after 410 BC. Davis presumes that according to our most reliable sources *kyrbeis* were three-sided wooden and free-standing objects. They were used in archaic Greece as a kind of precursor to later *stelai* of stone on which authoritative texts such as laws or cult regulations were published and displayed. This explanation, however, does not perhaps take sufficiently into account our information about the *kyrbeis* on which a famous *Lex sacra* of Selinous were displayed in the fifth century BC. While parts of this *Lex Sacra*, according to the specialists, could also be turned or swung around like the Athenian *kyrbeis*, they were probably not three-cornered or three-sided like a Persian *kyrbasia*.<sup>45</sup> Hence, at present the discussion about the shape and function of the *kyrbeis* and *axones*, which was of a high relevance to Phainias and his contemporaries, still remains open.

<sup>44</sup> See Davies (2011). Unfortunately Davis (2011) 14 note 39 and page 25 is very brief on Theophrastos and Phainias. He praises them and other hellenistic scholars for “undertaking serious historical investigation, textual analysis and commentary” (14), but he does not discuss the serious problems of the composition of the Greek texts of **28A/B** and their controversial interpretation.

<sup>45</sup> On the form of the *Lex Sacra* of Selinous see plate 1 after page 114 in the edition by Jameson et al. (1993), and cf. Nenci (1994).

Given the small number of Phainias' fragments on Solon and his activity as a lawgiver we cannot at present determine whether these texts come from a special biography on Solon, a serial biography, a political treatise on Solon's laws and reforms, a discussion of the allegedly Solonian early *politeia*, or from an excursus in a historical work.

## II.2. Phainias' ambivalent view of Themistokles' character and political methods

At least in the certain fragments on Themistokles Phainias did not focus on the Athenian's role as the chief architect of the new Athenian naval policy in the 480s and as a politician who in this decade promoted decisive steps in the development of the classical democracy. Instead, he primarily treated Themistokles' cleverness in the crisis immediately before the battle of Salamis and Themistokles' later years in Persian exile at the king's court and finally as a pro-Persian ruler (tyrant) of several cities in Asia Minor. Given the small total number of these fragments, it is still possible that this impression may result from a misleading history of transmission of Phainias' works. Even the few preserved fragments, however, suggest that to Phainias Themistokles probably was a more interesting person than Solon, perhaps because he was also a more ambivalent character. In my view, some of those fragments (**29–32** and **34** = 23–26 and 28 W) which are preserved in Plutarch's *Life of Themistokles*, clearly show features of such an ambivalent character and even indicate some criticism of his dubious political schemes, although they finally led to Athens' victory at Salamis and achieved honourable Hellenic goals.<sup>46</sup>

Scholars still disagree on the broad scope of Phainias' interest in Themistokles' whole life. It has been suggested (e.g. by Bodin or Laqueur) that Phainias intended to describe in a continuous narrative (as a special biography) the history of Themistokles starting with his family, his birth and education and leading to his final hours. Of course this is a central question to the history of early Greek political biography. However, unfortunately at present we cannot answer it.

<sup>46</sup> Some authors, for instance Fernández Nieto (1994) 657–668 and Leão (2003–2004) 51–62, found some hints to criticism of Themistokles' character and political methods in Phainias' fragments. I would agree with this interpretation, see, however, for a much more positive view Muccioli (2008). He does not see any convincing hints to a critical view of Themistokles in Phainias' fragments.



Wehrli, Wöhrle and Zhmud<sup>47</sup> recently surmised, “das Gesicherte lässt sich auf den in den Fragmenten 23–26 und 28 (Wehrli) wiedergegebenen Text reduzieren und auf eine bloße Episode im Leben des Themistokles (Gewinnung eines früheren Feindes) beschränken.” From my study of Phainias’ fragments, however, I would suggest that Phainias had a much broader interest in Themistokles’ life, character, and political methods.

### **II.2.1. Themistokles’ mother – lack of reliable biographical information and literary rivalry among late classical and hellenistic biographers**

**29** testifies to an astonishing lack of precise and reliable biographical information even on very famous Athenian generals and politicians of the late sixth and early fifth century BC such as Themistokles. One may compare the discussion about the year of Solon’s death (see above), although Solon’s own poems and his role as a *diallaktes* and a law-giver offered a comparatively rich (but not always reliable) source material. Only about four generations after Themistokles’ *akme* even such an educated and well-read author as the Peripatetic Phainias was engaged in a controversy about the disputed name and home-city of Themistokles’ mother. Similarly, Phainias’ fragment on the almost contemporary and famous poet Philoxenos does not indicate rich biographical knowledge. Fragment **19** remains purely anecdotal. However, it is a well-known fact that ancient Greek biographers compensated for their lack of trustworthy biographical information by their imagination and literary creativity. Their sharp rivalry often encouraged them simply to invent biographical details following the so-called ‘method of Chamaileon’. This means that later biographers invented biographical details and variants on the basis of certain passages in literary works of the person about whom they wrote. This fragment on Themistokles’ mother seems to be a good example of this technique, which Phainias shared with almost every early Peripatetic biographer from Aristoxenos and Chamaileon to Hermippos.

Contrary to the testimony of the famous grave-epigram on Themistokles’ Thracian mother that was also known to Plutarch and was accepted as reliable biographical evidence by most authorities in

<sup>47</sup> Wehrli, Wöhrle and Zhmud (2004) 590.

Phainias' time, the Eresian held a dissenting opinion. For he maintained that this woman came from Caria, and Phainias changed her name from Abrotonon to Euterpe. Perhaps these changes of the dominant tradition included a pointed remark and an indirect insult against Themistokles as a *nothos* coming from a very barbarian stock (Carians are even worse than Thracians). Some time later, the Greek biographer Neanthes of Kyzikos<sup>48</sup> for his part added to this variant the name of her Carian home, Halikarnassos. Following a usual topos of *diabole* Neanthes also insulted her as a *hetaira*, which included another offense against her son Themistokles. The whole ancient discussion about Themistokles' mother obviously offers an illustrative example of one of the weak features of early Peripatetic and more generally ancient Greek biography. While modern observers may object that such techniques damage a serious scholarly biography of Phainias the Peripatetic, they surely produced attractive reading matter.

### II.2.2. Themistokles bribes and blackmails Architeles (30)

In his description of the political and military situation during the fighting at cape Artemision in 480 BC Plutarch closely follows Herodotos' report in book eight of the *Histories* as his main source.<sup>49</sup> Plutarch acknowledges Themistokles as a political, diplomatic and military genius, and in general his source Phainias held the same opinion. Nevertheless Plutarch also narrates certain ambivalent traits of character and actions taken by Themistokles, which Phainias had also related and which a philosopher could be expected to criticize. Probably on the basis of Herodotos' narrative about Eurybiades and Adeimantos (*Histories* 8.5) Phainias himself invented a detailed report (or chose to narrate an earlier version by other authors) about how Themistokles successfully bribed (with a silver talent) and later blackmailed the captain of the Athenian state trireme Architeles. I would suggest that Phainias was motivated by his literary rivalry with the

<sup>48</sup> See the commentaries on Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F 2 and now *BNJ* 84 F 2. Schorn (2007) 115–156 rightly differentiated more clearly than earlier scholars between two homonymous biographers named Neanthes of Kyzikos.

<sup>49</sup> See the commentaries on Herodotos 8.5 and most recently Bowie (2007) 94–95 with references to earlier literature. On fifth-century sources and opinions about Themistokles see esp. Blösel (2004). For a full commentary on Phainias' fragment cf. also Engels (1998) 330–332.



authoritative historians Herodotos and Thucydides whose works he knew and partly used as models for some features of his story of Themistokles and Adeimantos.

In bribing and blackmailing Adeimantos Themistokles proceeded with a stunning cleverness, which in my view Phainias the Peripatetic philosopher may have judged as an ambivalent, problematic trait of character and perhaps as an illegitimate political method.<sup>50</sup> In several cleverly devised steps Themistokles sets a trap for Architeles into which the captain falls. Phainias uses many details in his narration to create the impression of a trustworthy report.<sup>51</sup> Phainias intended to separate himself at least in some details from the dominant fourth-century positive opinion about Themistokles as a hero of the Persian Wars. At the same time Phainias here aimed again at presenting himself as a scholarly author who knew some additional rare details and variants. However, there is no consensus about the interpretation of this fragment among modern scholars. Muccioli<sup>52</sup> gave a recent overview of earlier scholarship, for instance, and holds that none of Phainias' fragments ultimately suggests a critical attitude against Themistokles. Even if ordinary people and especially a philosopher may justly criticize bribery and blackmail as political methods, in the political crisis of that day, according to Muccioli, there was no alternative to Themistokles' action. The fact that Phainias noted the final success of the bribery and blackmail, i.e. the Athenian victory, would justify the dubious means in Plutarch's and also in Phainias' opinion. Thus, according to Muccioli, Phainias held a clearly positive view of Themistokles.

**30** and **31** are also very important texts because they are the only preserved passages that are sufficiently long and detailed to allow for a stylistic or rhetorical analysis of Phainias' literary preferences. They

<sup>50</sup> See for a discussion of the passage also Fernández Nieto (1994).

<sup>51</sup> Blösel (2004) 143 and note 62 surmised in the historical background of this story about the bribing of Architeles actually existing problems with paying the Athenian crews before the battle of Salamis. He suggests that Themistokles had found an elegant way to solve them together with Architeles. However, if this really holds true, Phainias must have changed the real story and have given it a darker, less honourable accent, because he explicitly narrates the tricky bribery. Such a change of the true facts about this money and its real purpose again would testify to an ambivalent, partly a darker picture of Themistokles in Phainias' historical and biographical works.

<sup>52</sup> Muccioli (2008).

testify to a high level of narrative prose, which Phainias apparently used, at least in his historical and biographical works. The skillfully applied stylistic devices remind one of similar thrilling passages in other Peripatetic biographers, for instance in Hermippos of Smyrna.<sup>53</sup>

### **II.2.3. Themistokles gives in to the pressure of the mass of soldiers and to a priest before the battle of Salamis: Phainias' strange story about an Athenian human sacrifice in 480 BC**

Of all the preserved fragments on Themistokles Phainias' fragment **31** indicates, in my view, a certain weakness of character in this general and politician, when he is confronted with a menacing crowd of soldiers and a demanding and self-conscious priest. Once again Phainias as a gifted writer combines in this fragment psychologically sensitive observations with easily memorable anecdotes, short stories and pictures. At first Themistokles resists the idea of a human sacrifice to ensure the Greek victory. But then he—probably reluctantly—gives in to the superstitious mass of soldiers.<sup>54</sup> He not only tolerates such a savage act, but according to Phainias in his function as general Themistokles is actively involved in the sacrifice of three noble Persian men by ritually preparing the victims and himself cutting their forelocks. Once again we can observe how Phainias carefully added select details to the main tradition of a well-known historical and biographical situation, in this case the critical hours before the battle of Salamis in 480 BC.<sup>55</sup>

Phainias is our only ancient source that reports this cruel story about the three Persians as a battle sacrifice, before the decisive battle started. Although almost surely this episode must be regarded as an invention of Phainias (see below), exactly through this cruel detail Phainias differentiates his picture of the general Themistokles from

<sup>53</sup> See Bollansée (1999) on some illustrative and thrilling fragments of Hermippos.

<sup>54</sup> The mass of the Athenian soldiers put their faith in irrational *paraloga*, but not in *euloga*, as good philosophers like Phainias did.

<sup>55</sup> For a full commentary of this fragment I refer again to my earlier commentary Engels (1998) 332–336; there one finds a discussion of parallel sources and many bibliographical references to earlier scholarship. Of course, my doubts about the historicity of this Athenian human sacrifice before Salamis do not lead me to doubt other literary or archaeological evidence of cases of human sacrifice in the Greek world. See on this topic still the thorough studies by Henrichs (1981) 195–235 and 236–242, Hughes (1991), esp. 112–115, and Bonnechère (1994) 181–225.



the prevailing positive view of classical historians (Herodotos) or contemporary fourth-century orators (e.g. Andokides, Isokrates, Lykurgos, or Aischines). And Plutarch considers it at least worth mentioning, too, although he and earlier ancient readers of Phainias' work must have felt that it was a very strange story, if they compared it with the famous reports of the battle in Aischylos' tragedy *Persai* and in Herodotos' authoritative and detailed narration in the *Histories* (8.95). For according to this great historian the three noble Persians along with other enemies were only caught and killed by Aristeides on the island of Psyttaleia after the battle. This version of the story can also be found in Plutarch's *Aristeides* 9.2.

As far as I know, among modern scholars T. Grünewald<sup>56</sup> is the only one who considers Phainias' story about a human sacrifice before the battle of Salamis as possibly trustworthy. However, in view of his arguments I do not see any convincing reason to change my earlier rejection of this story in my commentary in *FGrH* (1998) as anything other than an invention of Phainias.

The clearly decisive argument against the historicity of this peculiar Athenian sacrifice in 480 BC is the cult appellation (*epiklesis*) of the strange deity Dionysos *Omestes*. While this is a strange deity in an Athenian religious context in the early fifth century BC, we know that it was venerated at that time on Lesbos, Phainias' home. The Athenians actually sacrificed before the battle of Salamis in the Persian Wars to Artemis, Aias and to Zeus Tropaios, as e.g. W.K. Pritchett has shown, but not to Dionysos *Omestes*.<sup>57</sup> S. Lebreton recently made the attractive suggestion that the Lesbian author Phainias not only intentionally introduced his native deity Dionysos *Omestes* into his invented story, but also connected it with the aitiological Lesbian myth which explained the strange appellation *Omestes*. Phainias himself may well have learned it already from the poems of Alkaïos of Lesbos.<sup>58</sup> The cruel Athenian ritual of expelling from the city a scapegoat (*pharmakos*)<sup>59</sup> at the Thargelia offers no fitting parallel to the pre-battle sacrifice in 480. It does not support Phainias' invention as trustworthy.

<sup>56</sup> Grünewald (2001) 1–23.

<sup>57</sup> See Pritchett (1979) on usual Athenian sacrifices before battles.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Lebreton (2009) 193–203, esp. 198.

<sup>59</sup> On the *pharmakos*-ritual see Bremmer (1983) 299–320 and Bonnechère (1997) 63–89.

#### II.2.4. A Greek statesman as a refugee at the Persian court and as pro-Persian ruler of several cities

Two more fragments on Themistokles also come from Plutarch's *Themistokles* (32 and 34). They focus in a biographical manner on some traits of this Athenian's character and report his behaviour at the Persian court and during his time as a refugee in Asia. If these texts came from a historical work *stricto sensu*, one perhaps would primarily expect some comment on the reasons for Themistokles' condemnation and flight into exile, or on the political implications of his flight for Athenian history in that period. Themistokles was not the only one, but one of the most prominent Greek (and Athenian) refugees in Persia. In the fifth and fourth centuries BC we know of many politicians, diplomats, doctors, generals, specialists of different arts and crafts or simply persons who sought their luck at the court of the Great King and in his service.<sup>60</sup>

In general, rhetorical skills and command of foreign languages, as well as the ability to accommodate to a strange, non-Greek cultural milieu and foreign customs, may have been positive personal traits also in the view of Phainias the Peripatetic author. However, the specific contexts in which Themistokles displayed these qualities, according to Phainias, change their evaluation. In these two fragments Phainias first focuses on Themistokles' behaviour as a refugee at the king's court. Before his flight to Asia Themistokles had posed in Athens for years as the true savior of Greece and the archenemy of the barbarian Persians. Phainias' readers knew that of course from many other sources. The main question to them was now, how Themistokles would behave as a refugee at the king's court. Would he easily accept and perform all the barbarian, oriental customs at the court? According to Phainias Themistokles promised precisely that to the chiliarch Artabanos, and he kept his promise.

This promise included in particular that Themistokles accept performace of the famous *proskynesis*, which to most classical Greeks

<sup>60</sup> For a complete catalogue of Greeks at the Persian court and in the king's service, see Hofstetter (1978), and on Themistokles Cagnazzi (2001) 35–59; on Entimos of Gortyn, who is known only from this passage, see Phainias 33. Roberto (2006) 341–344 recently suggested – against e.g. Zecchini (1989) 10–11 or Engels (1998) in the commentary on this fragment, who both preferred the fifth century BC – that Entimos came to Artaxerxes II between ca. 387 and 367 BC.



was a symbol of barbarian behaviour and slavish obedience to an absolute ruler. Usually Peripatetic philosophers recalled that their ‘martyr’ Kallisthenes of Olynthos, Alexander’s official court historian, had resisted *proskynesis*, and that this brave position *inter alia* led to Kallisthenes’ imprisonment and death in Asia during Alexander’s campaign. Aristotle himself wrote an influential treatise entitled *Kallisthenes e peri penthous*, which included accusations against king Alexander, his former pupil, who in Aristotle’s opinion had now become an oriental despot. Although we cannot be sure about the date of Phainias’ work from which this fragment has been taken, *proskynesis* surely was a topic of high relevance in late fourth century BC.

Almost every early historian of Alexander dealt with this topic of *proskynesis*. Depending on the surmised date of Phainias’ original work on Themistokles, he perhaps also intended to take part indirectly in an ongoing discussion among early historians, biographers and philosophers on Alexander the Great as a good or a bad king and on the right behaviour of a Greek in front of a mighty king. Muccioli,<sup>61</sup> however, as he has already in his interpretation of the fragment about the human sacrifice, again holds a different opinion on Phainias’ aims with the present story about Themistokles and *proskynesis*. According to Muccioli neither Phainias nor Plutarch seriously reproached Themistokles over his flight to Persia, his obedient adoption of *proskynesis*, or his late role as a pro-Persian ruler (or tyrant) of several cities in Asia Minor.

Fragments **32–34** also testify to Phainias’ good knowledge of the Persian feudal system of gifts and titles that the great king bestowed upon his loyal servants and friends. This knowledge does not come as a big surprise, because the Lesbian author Phainias could easily learn about these customs from people living in the neighbouring satrapies of Asia Minor. For instance, in fragment **34** we learn about Phainias’ position in a scholarly discussion about the number and the names of several cities which were given as a ‘gift’ to Themistokles and which he ruled as a pro-Persian tyrant at the end of his life. As a common feature of Hellenistic historical and biographical literature we see in this short fragment that Phainias attempted to correct the prevailing opinion and to maintain a minority position concerning the number and names of those cities. Thucydides (and similarly Ephoros / Diodoros)

<sup>61</sup> See Muccioli (2008) 473–475.

listed only three cities as gifts: Magnesia, Lampsakos and Myous. Phainias (and following him some time later also Neanthes of Kyzikos), however, added two other small and insignificant settlements Perkote and Palaiskepsis.<sup>62</sup> At first glance this fragment surely can be explained with Phainias' aim to appear to his readers as an extraordinarily learned author who is even better informed on this issue than the great Thucydides. Looking at this fragment again, however, one may perhaps also find an element of criticism of Themistokles. For as common democratic Greek civic ethics would surely exclude ruling even over one or three poleis as an honourable political role, by increasing the number of these cities to five Phainias (who himself fought against 'tyranny' in Eresos) may be indicating particular criticism of Themistokles' later years.<sup>63</sup>

To sum up, the fragments on Themistokles clearly demonstrate that Phainias wished to engage in the scholarly discussion of earlier and contemporary historians, biographers, and orators about Themistokles' role in the Persian Wars, his character and the disputed evaluation of his late years as a refugee in Persia. In my opinion at least in the fragments about the bribery of Architeles, about the alleged human sacrifice before the battle of Salamis, and also about his performance of *proskynesis* and his rule as pro-Persian tyrant of Greek cities in Asia Minor, Phainias deliberately chose to portray Themistokles as an ambivalent, in some traits even a negative character.

### III. 'A philosopher well read in history' – Phainias' primarily philosophical perspective on historical and biographical topics

Plutarch, himself a philosopher and a biographer, offers the best ancient characterization of the Peripatetic Phainias (**31**): Phainias was a *philosophos* and *grammatikon ouk apeiros historikon*. This fitting statement was recently thoroughly discussed by F. Muccioli.<sup>64</sup> He

<sup>62</sup> Today, most scholars do not accept the additional information about Perkote and Palaiskepsis as trustworthy; see Briant (1985) 53–72 and Engels (1998) 341–342. In general on the system of gifts and titles in Persia which were bestowed upon the king's 'friends' and 'benefactors', Wiesehöfer (1980) 7–21. On Neanthes who agreed with Phainias, see commentaries on Neanthes *FGrH* and *BNJ* 84 F 17a.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. again on Themistokles as a refugee in Persia Keaveney (2003) 47–49 on *proskynesis* and 69–87 on the gift of the cities.

<sup>64</sup> See once again Muccioli (2008). This crucial testimony is also discussed in several other contributions of this volume, to which I refer.



translated the phrase with “un filosofo e assai esperto di ricerca storica.” However, *grammata historika* does not refer primarily to historical research (ricerca storica) which in Greek would be more precisely *historia*, but primarily to Phainias’ good knowledge of historical works already published at his time. Cooper chose “a philosopher not unaquainted with historical matters,” while I myself in 1998 preferred “a philosopher well read in history.” Schneider most recently understood these words in a similar way: “un philosophe et un expert en littérature historique.”<sup>65</sup> With respect to Solon and Themistokles these historical works surely included the magisterial treatises of Herodotos and Thucydides. Among authors roughly contemporary with Phainias one may probably add Ephoros and Theopompos (because of his excursus on the Athenian demagogues) among the canonical historians. In addition to these major historians, I would also not exclude other minor and today only fragmentarily preserved historians.

Phainias’ historical and biographical fragments on Solon and Themistokles, on which this paper has focused, demonstrate how significantly the Eresian’s view differs from the strictly sober, historical perspective of Herodotos or Thucydides on the one hand, and also from the typical Isocratean moralizing historians such as Theopompos or Ephoros. Admittedly, the historical value of most of Phainias’ peculiar items of information about Solon and Themistokles is not high, if we judge it from the critical point of view of a modern scholar. Phainias’ interest in the two prominent Athenian politicians is still primarily determined by his basic philosophical identity as a Peripatetic. It is not by pure chance that Plutarch’s characterization of Phainias partly overlaps with his friendly words about Theophrastos, another famous Peripatetic and a friend of Phainias: Plutarch calls Theophrastos in the *Life of Alkibiades* (10.3 = Theophrastus 705 FSH&G) *aner philekoos kai historikos par’ hontinoun ton philosophon*, or in W.W. Fortenbaugh’s translation “a man fond of listening and well-informed beyond any of the philosophers.”

Some of the fragments **26–34**, on which I have focused in this contribution—as well as additional fragments from other works with a biographical scope—clearly show Phainias’ great literary talent for inventing easily memorable stories and composing thrilling reading

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Cooper (1995) 324, Engels (1998) 285, and Schneider (2012) 272.

matter. Phainias was fond of narrating anecdotes and of adding colorful, sometimes cruel details to a basic earlier report. All these features can be observed in other early Greek biographers as well. Hence, several of the fragments on Solon and Themistokles once again confront us with a fundamental difficulty in studying early Greek biography which has not been convincingly solved until now. A. Momigliano in his highly influential study on the development of Greek biography defined it simply as “the difficulty of separating anecdotes from biography.”<sup>66</sup>

Of course, modern historical and biographical interest in the lives and careers of Solon and Themistokles differs considerably from that of an ancient author like Phainias in the fourth century BC. When we study Phainias as a Hellenistic scholar and an early Peripatetic biographer, we should be fully aware of anachronistic modern, highly elaborated concepts of biography as a genre. To a certain degree I would even suggest disregarding these modern concepts, because they can easily mislead us, and developing our ideas on the development of early Peripatetic biography solely on the basis of the undisputed fragments of these authors, which are now comfortably available in the new RUSCH series. Early Hellenistic biography then will prove to be a surprisingly multi-faceted and individually differentiated group of works.

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<sup>66</sup> Momigliano (1993) 78.



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## 10

### **Phainias' *The Tyrants in Sicily*, *On Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*, and Aristotle's Explanation of the Violent End of Tyrants**

*Eckart Schütrumpf*

We know of two works by Phainias of Eresos that deal with tyrants: one is *The Tyrants in Sicily* (**16–17** / 11–13 W / F 1–2 *FGrHist* 1012) for which only one fragment is attested; since this short text does not reveal much about Phainias' interest in tyranny it will be dealt with briefly at the end. More can be said about Phainias' other work dealing with tyrants. Fragments **18** and **19** / 14 and 15 W / F 3 and 4 *FGrHist* 1012, both preserved by Athenaeus, refer to their source “in the book with the title *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*” (ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ τυράννων ἀναίρεσις ἐκ τιμωρίας). A text in Parthenius' *Erōtika Pathēmata* contains a story about the killing of a tyrant out of revenge but identifies only the author, “Phainias of Eresos,” but not the title of the work in which it was found. However, the content of the story makes the attribution of this fragment (**20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012) to *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* by

their editors Müller<sup>1</sup>, Wehrli,<sup>2</sup> and Engels<sup>3</sup> respectively, almost certain.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of the topic tyrannicide becomes clear if one considers that Thucydides pays so much attention to the killing of Peisistratus' son Hipparchus at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent., in 514, so that he deals with it twice in his work<sup>5</sup> although this subject lies outside the scope of the history he was writing on the Peloponnesian war that began more than 80 years after the killing of Hipparchos, an incident that also lay well outside the events that led to the war described by him in *Hist.* 1.<sup>6</sup> And in Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* the era of Peisistratos also figures prominently.<sup>7</sup> Obviously for Phainias from the island of Lesbos this Athenian event that occurred 150 years before his time possessed little or no relevance. What triggered his interest in the topic killing tyrants?

In *Politics* book 5 Aristotle, whose student Phainias had been during his stay on Lesbos in the years after Plato's death,<sup>8</sup> devotes more than two chapters of considerable length to the topic of tyrannical regimes (10–11 1310a39–1315b39). Here killing of tyrants is a major theme—in this context the attack against the tyranny of the sons of Peisistratos is mentioned as one example of actions committed “for the sake of revenge” (10 1311a35–39) which is exactly the motive for killing a tyrant we find in Phainias' title *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*. It has been argued that in this work Phainias reveals the influence of his teacher Aristotle.<sup>9</sup> In which sense could this be true? Book 5 of the *Politics* is clearly based on Aristotle's studies of constitutions

<sup>1</sup> *FHG* II F 16.

<sup>2</sup> Wehrli *SA* IX, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 272–275.

<sup>4</sup> F 6 *FGrHist* 1012 = **21** (PHerc. 1021 = Philod. Ind. Ac. Herc. Dorandi col. 12,2–16 on the tyrant Chairon of Pellene) was not included by Wehrli in his edition of Phainias (*SA* IX), but that of Hermippos, *SA* Suppl. I, F 89.

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides 1.20.2; 6.54–59.1.

<sup>6</sup> Thuc. 1.89–118.2; E. Badian, *From Plataea to Potidaea: Studies in the history and historiography of the Pentecontaetia*, Baltimore 1993.

<sup>7</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 13.4–20.1.

<sup>8</sup> Wehrli *SA* IX, 29; Engels *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 290.

<sup>9</sup> J. Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 300 suggests that “P. wished to illustrate the theories of *his master* (italics, E.S.) with examples taken from history.” R. Laqueur, s.v. Phainias *RE* XIX 2, 1566 (cited below p. 328 n. 31) and Wehrli, *SA* IX 32 assumed an influence of Aristotle without making him Phainias' teacher.



and belongs, therefore, in the last years of his second stay in Athens after 335/334. However, as Wehrli confirms, there are no “ausdrückliche Zeugnisse,” no ‘explicit testimonia,’ that assert a stay of Phainias in Athens.<sup>10</sup> Since there is no evidence that Phainias lived there at the time when Aristotle wrote *Pol.* 5, Phainias did not write his work *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* as a student of Aristotle—Phainias might at best have been a reader of the *Politics*<sup>11</sup> or of parts of this work that were written by a man whose “student” Phainias had been roughly two decades earlier.

If one wants to consider the possibility of a relationship between Phainias' *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* and Aristotle who includes revenge among the causes of killing a tyrant, one needs from the start to be aware that Aristotle deals with this particular case of attacks against tyrants in a much larger context. Not only does he distinguish more causes of attacks against tyrants than the one “out of revenge,” which is the only one Phainias covered; but in *Pol.* 5.10 killing of tyrants, for whatever reasons, is also just one part of the more comprehensive project of “studying from which events monarchy is destroyed and by which causes it is naturally preserved.”<sup>12</sup> By contrast, Phainias' collection of accounts of the killing of tyrants out of revenge is not part of a study with such a comprehensive theoretical scope as Aristotle presented it.

For these reasons, his interest in this topic must not reflect discussions and research on this subject in the Peripatos, and Aristotle's theoretical interest<sup>13</sup> in expanding the knowledge of the constitution tyranny may not have been shared by Phainias. Actual events could have played a role in his decision to write on the fate of tyrants: in the

<sup>10</sup> SA IX 32. Phainias did not accompany Theophrastos who left for Athens in 335; cf. Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 297.

<sup>11</sup> If one assumes that Phainias read Aristotle's *Politics* in his native Lesbos then one has to assume as well that copies of Aristotle's works circulated outside of the library of the Peripatos at least among those affiliated with the school or to Aristotle.

<sup>12</sup> Λείπεται δ' ἐπελθεῖν καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας, ἐξ ὧν τε φθείρεται καὶ δι' ὧν σώζεσθαι πέφυκεν: 5.10 1310a39f.

<sup>13</sup> By exploring the *causes* of overthrow of constitutions (see below p. 344 n. 86 and 87), Aristotle pursued a philosophical enquiry. However, his analysis is not purely theoretical; his investigation into ways of preserving tyrannies could be used by tyrants, and Aristotle wants it to be used when he gives instructions on what tyrants must (*dei*) do: 5.11 1314a38f.; b14ff.; b 21 and passim. He criticizes political theorists for failing to provide what is useful: 4.1 1288b35ff.

Eastern hemisphere, in Herakleia on the Pontus, in 352 B.C. Klearchos, tyrant of Herakleia,<sup>14</sup> was killed by a student of Plato, Chion of Herakleia,<sup>15</sup> and other conspirators.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore and closer to home: around 350 or in the 340's three brothers Apollodoros, Hermon, and Heraios shared a tyrannical rule over Eresos and were removed by Philipp II of Macedonia or his son Alexander. Not long after that the Persian naval commanders Pharnabazos and Autophradates imposed Agonippos and Eurysilaos as tyrants in Eresos; they were deposed by Hegelochos, the general of Alexander in 332.<sup>17</sup> Plutarch<sup>18</sup> mentions Theophrastos and—according to the most likely conjecture *Phainiou* for the transmitted name *Pheidiou*—Phainias as the two individuals who removed “the tyrants from their fatherland.”

Could it be that Phainias' part in the removal of tyrants in Eresos is mere fiction based on his work and invented in order to link an author who had written on tyrannicide to such an action as it had taken place in his hometown when he was a young man and could be credited with participating in such an act? It is unlikely that Phainias' work *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* was used to create such a legend about his involvement in the killing of a tyrant since the element “out of revenge” is missing in the account about the removal of tyranny in Eresos<sup>19</sup>—the historicity of his involvement in itself does, however, not preclude the possibility that Phainias' and Theophrastos' role in it may well have been exaggerated.<sup>20</sup> When Laqueur comments: “we might be entitled to say that the freedom fighter of Eresos not only completed in his work a task that had been posed theoretically but that his whole life was interwoven with this historical task,”<sup>21</sup> the latter

<sup>14</sup> See Trampedach 1994, 79–87.

<sup>15</sup> Philodemus, PHerc. 1021 col. VI, ed. Dorandi 1991, p. 135; Trampedach 1994, 88–90.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Lenschau in *RE* XI 1, 578 s.v. Klearchos; St. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Herakleia on the Black Sea*, Berkeley 1976, 64 with n. 126; 127 on p. 134; Schütrumpf 2008, p. 31 n. 11.

<sup>17</sup> See Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 296f.

<sup>18</sup> Plut. *Non posse suaviter vivi* 15.6 1097b = Phainias 7 / 7 W τίνας δὲ Θεοφράστου καὶ Φαινίου τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος ἐκκοψάντων τυράννους / T 7 *FGrHist* 1012; Theophrastus F 33A FHS&G, s. R. Laqueur, s.v. Phainias *RE* XIX 2, 1566.

<sup>19</sup> Wehrli (SA IX) 28 on fr. 6–7.

<sup>20</sup> Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 297.

<sup>21</sup> Laqueur, s.v. Phainias *RE* XIX 2, 1566: “wir werden ... sagen dürfen, daß der Freiheitskämpfer von Eresos nicht nur eine theoretisch gestellte Aufgabe mit seiner



claim is overstated—and in which way his commitment to write on tyranny was theoretical in nature will be addressed below more in detail.

Wehrli and Engels place **18** / 14 W / F 3 *FGrHist* 1012 at the beginning of the few fragments preserved for Phainias' work on the *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*.<sup>22</sup> It contains an account about Skopas, son of Kreon and grandson of Skopas the Elder, tyrant of Krannon or Pharsalos<sup>23</sup> in Thessaly during the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C., who had “a constant habit of being fond of drinking” (φιλοποτοῦντα διατελέσαι), a pleonastic expression that stresses the seriousness of his addiction. He is described as having been carried on a throne from the symposia and needing to be supported by four men to make it home. One detail of this description is interesting here and throws light on the way Phainias must have wanted Skopas to be seen. In Heraclides Ponticus 45 Schütrumpf we find a description of a certain Artemon with the nickname *Periphorētos*:

And he says that Artemon was the effeminate sort in his lifestyle, and soft and nervous regarding his fears, and that he sat at home most of the time ... and, if he was forced to leave the house, he would be taken in a hammock, carried around just over the ground, and for this reason he was called *Periphorētos*.<sup>24</sup>

According to this account, a custom, or need, to be carried around attracted the attention of the public so much that Artemon received a nickname from it. Not being able to walk on one's own so that one needed to be carried by others was perceived in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. to reflect poorly on one's character; it could be interpreted either as being effeminate as in the case of Artemon or as the result of a dissolute lifestyle as with Skopas.

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Schrift durchführte, sondern daß sein eigenes Leben mit der geschichtlichen Aufgabe verflochten war.”

<sup>22</sup> In Müller, *FHG* II p. 298 it is the second fragment of this work of Phainias (F 15), preceded by F 14 = **19** / 15 W / F 4 *FGrHist* 1012.

<sup>23</sup> For the sources see Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 301 nn. 47, 48.

<sup>24</sup> τὸν δ' Ἀρτέμωνά φησι τρυφερόν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακὸν ὄντα καὶ καταπλήγα τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι καθέζεσθαι ... εἰ δὲ βιασθείη προελθεῖν, ἐν κλινιδίῳ κρεμαστῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφερόμενον κομίζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι περιφόρητον.

In Phainias **18** / 14 W / F3 *FGrHist* 1012 the account of Skopas' killing is missing. "Fortsetzung fehlt," "continuation is absent" comments Laqueur.<sup>25</sup> Wehrli in his commentary can only guess: "The existing description of Skopas' debauchery may have been linked with his death which may have been presented as the revenge of the bilked poet."<sup>26</sup> "Revenge inflicted by the poet who was swindled out of his reward," "Rache des geprellten Dichters," does not contain any link between debauchery as the prominent characteristic in the description of this tyrant and the revenge to which he was subjected. In Wehrli's reading the description of Skopas' character would indicate a general interest on Phainias' part in a portrayal of the persons who were part of an incident told by him even if that particular character trait did not contribute to the catastrophic event. But this reading needs to be rejected since it was not the poet who took revenge but the gods when they made the roof of the dining hall of the palace collapse so that Skopas and members of his family were killed.<sup>27</sup> This is divine intervention,<sup>28</sup> which should be called "punishment"<sup>29</sup> rather than "revenge".<sup>30</sup>

Does Phainias here expand on a topic with which Aristotle had dealt briefly, as Laqueur had assumed about this work of Phainias? "It almost looks like the broader execution of a topic that had been dealt with briefly by Aristotle."<sup>31</sup> However, there is no divine intervention in Aristotle's treatment of the violent end of tyrants in *Politics* 5. That structures collapse and kill someone who deserves this fate, as happened with Skopas, is known to Aristotle, and he considers it in *Poetics* ch. 9. There he discusses the way in which the elements of the plot should be connected. Generally a structure of the plot in which events are tied together by a causal relationship (δι' ἄλληλα) is preferred; however, this need not be a causal relationship of the obvious

<sup>25</sup> Laqueur, s.v. Phainias *RE* XIX,2 col. 1566.

<sup>26</sup> "Die vorliegende Schilderung von Skopas' Maßlosigkeit mag in Beziehung zu seinem Tod gebracht und dieser als Rache des geprellten Dichters dargestellt worden sein," *SA* IX 32.

<sup>27</sup> We are informed about this end of Skopas and his family by Cic. *De orat.* 2.86; 2.157; Quint. *Inst. Or.* 11.2,11.

<sup>28</sup> Engels *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 302.

<sup>29</sup> Liddell-Scott-Jones I s.v. cite Thuc. 3.63.2 ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ "for the purpose of punishing us."

<sup>30</sup> Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 303 (bis).

<sup>31</sup> Laqueur, s.v. Phainias *RE* XIX 2 col. 1566: "so sieht dies fast aus wie die Durchführung des von Aristoteles nur kurz behandelten Themas."



or predictable sort, but could be one in which events evolve against expectation. Such incidents will cause more surprise than if they happened by mere chance. However, Aristotle does not exclude from tragedy incidents that are due to chance, that is, without someone planning them; he allows for chance events to be elements of the plot if they appear to occur with a purpose. As an example he refers to a statue of Mitys in Argos that fell on, and killed, the man who had been responsible for Mitys' death.<sup>32</sup> This incident is not so different from the one told by Phainias where a structure collapses and happens to kill a man whose end would seem deserved—and which pleases men's sense of justice,<sup>33</sup> even if only in the form of poetic justice. In Aristotle such a plot is suitable for tragedy, whereas, in his analysis of attacks against tyrants in *Politics* 5, a development of events that is due to mere accident is missing. Accidents don't play a role in Aristotle's analysis of the causes of attacks against tyrants in *Politics* 5 or in any other events in his *Politics*, and punishment by the gods is outside of Aristotle's purview there and outside of his concept of human actions in *Politics*. Gods enter the picture of his treatment of tyranny from the other end, from the human side, when he recommends to the tyrant that he at least appear to take religious things seriously because his subjects will have a higher opinion of him and are less inclined to fear that he will violate the laws.<sup>34</sup> The gods do not intervene as in Phainias' story, but the tyrant creates a perception of himself as a god-fearing ruler.

This difference between Phainias and Aristotle becomes obvious if one compares a story Aristotle relates in *Politics* 5 that comes very close to Phainias' example of a profligate lifestyle of the tyrant Skopas whose end one would consider deserved. In both authors, the descriptions of the character of the tyrant are almost identical: Aristotle

<sup>32</sup> *Poet.* 9 1452a6–10 ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης ταῦτα θαυμασιώτατα δοκεῖ, ὅσα ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες φαίνεται γεγονέναι, οἷον ὡς ὁ ἀνδριᾶς ὁ τοῦ Μίτυος ἐν Ἄργει ἀπέκτεινεν τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Μίτυι, θεωροῦντι ἐμπεσόν· ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ εἰκῇ γίνεσθαι.

<sup>33</sup> *Poet.* 13 1453a1–3: that a very bad man suffers a change of fortune from happiness to unhappiness pleases man, is *philanthrōpon*.

<sup>34</sup> *Pol.* 5.11 1314b38–1315a3 ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως (ἥττον τε γὰρ φοβοῦνται τὸ παθεῖν τι παράνομον ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐὰν δεισιδαίμονα νομίζωσιν εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἥττον ὡς συμμάχους ἔχοντι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς).

mentions Dionysios II “whom Dion attacked because of his contempt of him, realizing that the citizens felt that way and that he, Dionysios, was drunk all the time”<sup>35</sup>—very much like Skopas. Ultimately, Dionysios’ drinking provoked attacks against his life because of the contempt it created among his subjects. Aristotle referred to Dionysios’ drinking problems elsewhere,<sup>36</sup> and partying of tyrants seems to have been a common experience<sup>37</sup> which made subjects attack a tyrant because they despised him so much. This type of action is not of the sort committed “out of revenge.” For this scenario Aristotle provides an example at *Pol.* 5.10 1311a39ff. concerning another tyrant who had an addiction towards drinking. Here Aristotle mentions an attack against Periandros, tyrant of Ambrakia, who was drinking with the boy he was erotically involved with and whom he asked whether he was already pregnant by him. Excessive drinking can lead to inconsiderate and insulting remarks or actions for which the person who is the target or victim takes revenge.

In these cases described by Aristotle, there is a causal relationship between a tyrant’s weakness for drinking and the fact that some men feel compelled to attack him. However, there is among the examples of attacks against tyrants in Aristotle not one that corresponds to the death of a tyrant because of divine intervention as in Phainias **18** / 14 W / F 3 *FGrHist* 1012. Engels points out correctly that this fragment allows us to “surmise the wide thematic scope of his (Phainias’, E.S.) work and the correspondingly large number of historical examples he gave”<sup>38</sup>—one should add: a scope beyond anything Aristotle would consider in his constitutional theory of *Politics* whose analysis of tyranny is, however, in a very different way much broader in scope than the accounts given by Phainias (see above p. 325; below p. 341–346).

<sup>35</sup> *Pol.* 5.10 1312a4–6 καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ Δίων ἐπέθετο διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν, ὁρῶν τοὺς τε πολίτας οὕτως ἔχοντας καὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ μεθύοντα. The same cause for the loss of kingship of Kambyses, son of Dareios, is mentioned by Plat. *Leg.* 3 695b.

<sup>36</sup> fr. 588 R<sup>3</sup>; *Probl.* 28 949a25; Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 283; E. Schütrumpf, *Aristoteles Politik Buch IV–VI*, 1996, 563f. n. on 1312a4.

<sup>37</sup> Plato refers to it; it must have been such a familiar trait that he reverses the relationship between the two elements, tyranny and drunkenness, and associate with drunkenness a tyrannical character: *Rep.* 8 573b9 Οὐκοῦν, ὦ φίλε, εἶπον, καὶ μεθυσθεὶς ἀνὴρ τυραννικόν τι φρόνημα ἴσχει;

<sup>38</sup> Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 302.



The second fragment of *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*, **19** / 15 W / F 4 *FGrHist* 1012, again transmitted by Athenaeus, refers to a Philoxenos who gained his income in the beginning as a fisherman; then, after having received a loan, he engaged in trade and made his living from this activity. He was politically active first as a demagogue from which position he rose to that of a tyrant.<sup>39</sup> For the work *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*, Laqueur remarked: “it almost looks like the execution of a topic that had been dealt with briefly by Aristotle.”<sup>40</sup> In Phainias **19** / 15 W / F 4 *FGrHist* 1012, we can identify ideas Aristotle had expressed. One could refer to the fact that in *Pol.* 1.8 Aristotle lists fishing among the forms of natural acquisition and contrasts this occupation with trade,<sup>41</sup> which in his theory is no longer natural, and these views as found in Aristotle may help to understand how the business career of this future tyrant, starting as a fisherman and then engaging in trade, should be assessed. However, similar judgments on trade can be found in Plato<sup>42</sup> before.

F. Leo<sup>43</sup> had suggested that initial stages of true biographies, that is, of works that claimed the form of biographies, might exist in Phainias' “Tyrants”, and J. Engels has placed these fragments in the general context of biography. In fact he focuses on those texts that “are of interest for a collection of fragments on Greek biography,”<sup>44</sup> while acknowledging that Phainias did not move “from collecting anecdotes to writing formal biographies.”<sup>45</sup> If Phainias used these Aristotelian or

<sup>39</sup> ἐκ δημαγωγοῦ τύραννος ἀνεφάνη, ζῶν τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀλιευόμενος καὶ σωληνοθήρας ὄν· ἀφορμῆς δὲ λαβόμενος καὶ ἐμπορευσάμενος βίον ἐκτήσατο.

<sup>40</sup> Laqueur, s.v. Phainias *RE* XIX,2 col 1566, cited above n. 31.

<sup>41</sup> 1.8 1256a35ff. lists forms of natural acquisition different groups of men pursue: οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θήρας ζῶσι, καὶ θήρας ἕτεροι ἑτέρας, οἷον οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ληστείας, οἱ δ' ἀφ' ἀλιείας, ὅσοι λίμνας καὶ ἔλη καὶ ποταμοὺς ἢ θάλατταν τοιαύτην προσοικοῦσιν ... οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τοσοῦτοι σχεδόν εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε αὐτόφυτον ἔχουσι τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ μὴ δι' ἀλλαγῆς καὶ καπηλείας πορίζονται τὴν τροφήν, νομαδικὸς ληστρικὸς ἀλιευτικὸς θηρευτικὸς γεωργικός.

<sup>42</sup> Plat. *Leg.* 8 831e4ff. describes the aspirations to get wealthy as a reason that men turn to becoming merchants, and at 11 918d6ff. calls this the reason why they are in disrepute.

<sup>43</sup> 1901, 112: “So mögen die Ansätze zu wirklichen Biographien, d.h. solchen die es auch der Form nach zu sein beanspruchten, im Buche des Idomeneus und in ähnlichen andern, wie in den τύραννοι des Phainias, enthalten gewesen sein.“ See below n. 67.

<sup>44</sup> Engels, F 5 *FGrHist* 1012, 295.

<sup>45</sup> Engels, F 5 *FGrHist* 1012, 300.

otherwise established categories, this tradition would require characterizing his work differently. *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* would not belong to biography in which the professional career of an individual is described as moving through different stages of a personal development but it would follow existing categories and place the individual in question into patterns of preexisting distinctions—in this specific case they are familiar or conventional distinctions of ways of life based on the activities or occupations that secure one's livelihood.

Another piece of information pointing to Aristotle is the fact that as a fisherman Philoxenos became a demagogue. In *Pol.* 4.4 1291b17ff.<sup>46</sup> Aristotle lists various groups among the demos according to their occupations, and this list presents the occupations clearly in descending order of quality, corresponding to the quality of the forms of democracy that are ruled by these groups.<sup>47</sup> Fishermen are a lowly group of the demos, as are traders—these merchants aren't Thomas Mann's Buddenbrooks—and demagogues are from the demos. Furthermore, the statement that Philoxenos rose from being a demagogue to the position of tyrant has its counterpart in Aristotle *Pol.* 5.10 1310b15<sup>48</sup> where such a career is introduced as one general pattern of rising to tyranny. It reflects Aristotle's view of Athenian tyranny because at *Ath. Pol.* 22.4 he makes the same remarks about Peisistratos.<sup>49</sup> However, Plato had already explained the origin of tyranny in very much the same way.<sup>50</sup>

In this account I find remarkable Phainias' interest in the social background of Philoxenos, and this approach comes close to that of Aristotle who uses a very detailed and specific distinction of groups of the demos by occupation in order to pass judgment on the form of government in which one or the other of these groups dominates (s. above n. 46). Again, it seems that the very brief information on the

<sup>46</sup> δῆμου μὲν εἶδη ἔν μὲν οἱ γεωργοί, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς τέχνας, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ἀγοραῖον τὸ περὶ ὦνῆν καὶ πρᾶσιν διατρίβον, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πολεμικὸν τὸ δὲ χρηματιστικὸν τὸ δὲ πορθμευτικὸν τὸ δ' ἄλιευτικόν (πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἕκαστα τούτων πολύοχλα, οἷον ἄλιεῖς μὲν ἐν Τάραντι καὶ Βυζαντίῳ, τριηρικὸν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ἔμπορικὸν δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Χίῳ ...

<sup>47</sup> *Pol.* 4.12 1296b24–31.

<sup>48</sup> *Pol.* 5.10 1310b14ff. σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν, πιστευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τοὺς γνωρίμους, cf. b31; 5 1305a9–15.

<sup>49</sup> *AP* 22.4 Πεισίστρατος δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὢν τύραννος κατέστη.

<sup>50</sup> *Rep.* 8 565d.



social background of Philoxenos does not indicate biographical interest but shares with Aristotle the focus on social conditions that explain the specific environment of political developments and reveals general historical patterns as Aristotle ascertains them in his *Politics*. However, it is impossible to go beyond stating a similarity in approach; Aristotelian influence cannot be claimed with certainty.

Laqueur's remark about the previous fragment **18** / 14 W / F 3 *FGrHist* 1012: "Fortsetzung fehlt," "continuation is missing," is appropriate here again—which tells us something about Athenaeus who limits himself to quoting a passage for whatever reason he has in the specific context, but does not indicate, and satisfy our curiosity on, how a story ends.

Only **20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012 (transmitted in Parthenius' *Erotika Pathēmata* 7) presents a story in which we are told that a tyrant was killed out of revenge. Here, however, the title of Phainias' work from which it is taken is not identified.<sup>51</sup> The story goes: in Herakleia in Southern Italy Antileon, who was one of the better known men in the city, fell in love with a young man of exceedingly good looks (διαφόρου τὴν ὄψιν) named Hipparinos. Antileon tried many things to win Hipparinos over, to no avail. Antileon approached Hipparinos in a gymnasium, confessed his desire for him, and asked him to suggest any daring act that he would perform as proof of his commitment. Hipparinos, not completely serious in his proposal, requested that Antileon fetch a bell, which was kept by the tyrant of Herakleia in a tightly guarded place, convinced that Antileon would never succeed in this endeavor. So far we have a lover whose love interest is not particularly eager to fall for the lover. Antileon took the risk, ambushed and killed the guard, and returned with the bell. He was received by Hipparinos with "much good-will" (ἐν πολλῇ εὐνοίᾳ), and from this moment the two were very much in love with one another—one should note the change of tenses from aorists that describe the various personal interactions to the imperfect<sup>52</sup> that promises a lasting condition. However, their bliss was not to last since the tyrant developed a desire for Hipparinos and took him by force. Now Antileon, greatly aggravated (δυσανασχετήσας), asked Hipparinos not to pretend any resistance, and he, Antileon, waited for an opportunity

<sup>51</sup> See above p. 323.

<sup>52</sup> μάλιστα ἀλλήλους ἐφίλουν, **20** l. 16–17 / 16 l. 14 W / F 5 l. 110f. *FGrHist* 1012.

to kill the tyrant and did so when he left his residence. Antileon might have gotten away with murder if, when fleeing the scene of the killing, he had not run into sheep that were tied together. He was subdued and killed. In Herakleia, after the old, that is pre-tyrannical, conditions had been restored, the two lovers received bronze statues, and a law was passed that prohibited tying sheep together.

Aristotle at *Eudemian Ethics* 2.1<sup>53</sup> in his distinction of forms of courage identifies one form that is caused by irrational passion like love or anger. Such a person is bold and “endures many dangers” like the man who killed the tyrant in Metapontion. R. Kassel<sup>54</sup> has argued that in this passage of *Eudemian Ethics* Aristotle refers to the murderer of the tyrant mentioned in Phainias **20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012. This is quite possible, although this event is located in Herakleia by Phainias but in Metapontion by Aristotle and Plutarch.<sup>55</sup> And one needs to stress that in the description “endures many dangers”, “*many* dangers” does not fit the *one* action of stealing the bell that is described by Phainias unless it is rhetorically exaggerated; and whether sacrificing one’s life can be called “enduring” a “danger” seems doubtful.

The tyrant of Herakleia was killed by a respected citizen of that city who wanted to take revenge for the tyrant’s attack on the young man he loved. The motive for this act is clearly expressed. But there is more: prominently described are the events that lead up to the forming of the love affair. This story of Phainias **20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012 recalls the account of Harmodios and Aristogeiton in Thucydides, and attention to this fact was drawn already by Plutarch.<sup>56</sup> In Thucydides 6.54.2 we read:

<sup>53</sup> *EE* 2.1 1229a20ff. ἄλλη δὲ (sc. ἀνδρεία) διὰ πάθος ἀλόγιστον, οἷον δι’ ἔρωτα καὶ θυμόν. ἄν τε γὰρ ἐρᾷ, θρασὺς μᾶλλον ἢ δειλός, καὶ ὑπομένει πολλοὺς κινδύνους, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ τὸν τύραννον ἀποκτείνας.

<sup>54</sup> “Wagemutige Liebhaber,” *RhM* 117, 1974, 190f.

<sup>55</sup> In Plut. Antileon is a citizen of Metapont, see above n. 53.

<sup>56</sup> *Amat.* 760b11 ἀκούετε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Ἀντιλέων ὁ Μεταποντῖνος καὶ Μελάνιππος ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος οὐ διεφέροντο τοῖς τυράννοις, πάντα τὰ πράγματα λυμαινομένους καὶ παροινούοντας ὀρώντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐρωμένους αὐτῶν ἐπείρων, ὥσπερ ἱεροῖς ἀσύλοις καὶ ἀθίκτοις ἀμύνοντες ἠφείδῃσαν ἑαυτῶν.



Aristogeiton, a citizen and man of the middle class, was the lover of Harmodios, a young man shining in the flower of his youth, and possessed him.<sup>57</sup>

However, there is in Thucydides nothing about the beginnings of their relationship as we find it in Phainias. And if one analyses the account of the killing of Hipparchos in Thucydides one could well argue that the description of the beginning of a love affair as told by Phainias is an element of the story one does not need in order to understand the killing of a tyrant. What is accomplished by telling it? The quite detailed description by Phainias of the beginning of their love contrasts the efforts of Antileon to win over Hipparinos with the sheer force used by the tyrant of Herakleia, described in one line: “the tyrant lusted for the beauty of the boy and was able to gain him by force.”<sup>58</sup> The contrast is between the rather detailed description of the ingenuity and boldness of Antileon who risks his life for Hipparinos by killing the guard, not just any guard but that of the tyrant, in order to win over the young man according to an agreement they had made on the one hand and the brutal force of a tyrant who did not ask what the beautiful young man might desire on the other. The description of the courting by Antileon and of its success is meant to reveal the depth of their love. By contrast, Thucydides with his brief account of the role of the elder man: “being his lover he possessed him” (ἐραστής ὃν εἶχεν αὐτόν, 6.54.3) is completely unromantic and unsentimental; the relationship between Harmodios and Aristogeiton is a fact that can be expressed in terms of the older man “possessing” the younger one. By comparison, Phainias is interested in the romantic aspects of the relationship.

If the text as we have it, reproduces Phainias' original in the respective length of the sections allocated to the different stages of the story then Phainias **20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012 reverses the focus we find in Thucydides: where the historian is silent about the forming of the relationship, Phainias tells us a moving story; what is absent in Phainias is of interest to Thucydides, namely to place the manner of

<sup>57</sup> Thucydides 6.54.2 γενομένου δὲ Ἀρμοδίου ὥρα ἡλικίας λαμπροῦ Ἀριστογείτων ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν, μέσος πολίτης, ἐραστής ὃν εἶχεν αὐτόν.

<sup>58</sup> Phainias **20** l. 17f. / 16 l. 25f. W / F 5 l. 111f. *FGrHist* 1012 ὁ τύραννος τῆς ὥρας ἐγλίχετο τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ οἷός τε ἦν αὐτὸν βία ἄγεσθαι; cf. Thuc. 6.54.3 φοβηθεὶς τὴν Ἰππάρχου δύναμιν μὴ βία προσαγάγηται αὐτόν.

the pursuit of an erotic interest by Hipparchos into the larger context of the character of the tyrannical regime in Athens: when Hipparchos could not win over Harmodios by words, in a second move he did not use force but adopted more secretly a different strategy, one of humiliation, and this strategy is linked to the character of his regime. Thucydides writes:

And after Hipparchos had tried again and did not win Harmodios over by words any more (than before), he did not want to do anything by force, but in a less noticeable way, as if he was not acting for that reason, he made preparations to insult him. For he was not otherwise, in his rule, burdensome to the great number (of the Athenians).<sup>59</sup>

It was not the style of Hipparchos to offend the Athenians so that his rule would be perceived as a burden, nor was it his style to use force when pursuing love interests. Hipparchos' restraint towards Harmodios is just one example of his overall conduct as he displayed it as ruler towards the Athenians. This political dimension is missing in Phainias. Furthermore, where we find in Thucydides all the details of the planning of the killing (6.56.2–57.3), this is described by Phainias in one line. The end of his story provides neither an insight into the character of the tyrannical regime in Herakleia as we gain this in Thucydides about the rule of Hipparchos, nor insights about the weakness of tyranny, nor advice on possible methods of preserving it, to which Aristotle devotes so much attention. Phainias ends his account by mentioning two details of later actions: the city honored the tyrannicide and his loved one by erecting statues, and it passed a law that forbade moving sheep that were tied together—an aetiological explanation that is more in character with Kallimachos than Aristotle. Posterity receives from Phainias an account about monuments erected and of a law passed after a tyrant was killed, whereas Aristotle provides theoretical insights into the mindset of men who attack or kill a tyrant and the many reasons why they do this.

I believe that it is possible to identify in Phainias' stories a specific narrative strategy that he seems to follow more than once. In **17** / 13 W /

<sup>59</sup> 6.54.4f. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἱππαρχος ὡς αὐθις πειράσας οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔπειθε τὸν Ἀρμόδιον, **βίαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο δρᾶν**, ἐν τρόπῳ δέ τινι ἀφανεῖ ὡς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ παρεσκευάζετο προπηλακιῶν αὐτόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ **τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐπαχθῆς ἦν ἐς τοὺς πολλούς** ...



F 2 *FGrHist* 1012, transmitted by Athenaeus who does not reveal the work from which he quotes it<sup>60</sup>—Müller, Wehrli and Engels assign it to *On Tyrants in Sicily* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων)—we read about the close relationship between the poet Philoxenos of Kythera and the tyrant Dionysios. At a dinner the tyrant received a big fish and the poet a small one. He put it to his ear, and when the tyrant asked why he did this, the poet responded that he was writing a poem about Galatea and wanted to learn from the fish about things related to Nereus. The small fish whispered that it had been caught at too young an age to belong to the company of Nereus, but that the one placed before the tyrant, being older, knew everything he wanted to know. The tyrant laughed and gave him the bigger fish. Then we hear about the continuing company of these two men as drinking buddies. This relationship came to an end when the poet was caught sleeping with the mistress of the tyrant and was thrown into the quarries where he wrote his *Kyklops*.

This story and **20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012 have the following elements in common: there is something desirable out there, a lovely boy or a big fish, and both objects would normally be considered out of reach of the men who have an interest in them. However, each takes the initiative, displays courage or comes up with an ingenious idea about how to get the object of his desire, and both are successful in their efforts. These stories are told with great skill. The situation in which the men develop their strategies that could win them their object of desire is clearly marked. There is suspense whether they will be successful, and Phainias chooses stories in which they are. There is then, described in imperfect tense, in each case a period when these conditions, which are forms of friendship or more, seem to last: “Dionysios used to enjoy drinking heavily with Philoxenos;”<sup>61</sup> Antileon and Hipparinos “were very much in love with one another.”<sup>62</sup> However, none of these relationships lasted. In both these cases there is a reversal of fortune, in one story because the person who had success in the beginning then seized too much—it is one thing to get the fish of the tyrant, but taking his mistress is testing one’s luck—here the

<sup>60</sup> See above p. 323.

<sup>61</sup> συνεμέθυε δὲ τῷ Φιλοξένῳ ἡδέως ὁ Διονύσιος, **17** l. 12f. / 13 l. 10 W / F 2 l. 82f. *FGrHist* 1012.

<sup>62</sup> ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἀλλήλους ἐφίλουν, **20** l. 16f. / 16 l. 14 W / F 5 l. 110f. *FGrHist* 1012.

very quality that secured the success in the beginning causes the downfall because the poet did not know when to stop with his ambitious pursuits. In the other story the happy conditions don't last because of interference from outside. However, here there is consistency of character as well since the daring that secured for Antileon winning his beloved boy does not allow him to tolerate the tyrant's interference. In both stories the ensuing change of fortune is described in the briefest terms: Philoxenos "was thrown into the quarries;"<sup>63</sup> "Antileon would have been able to flee if he hadn't been overpowered after he ran into sheep that had been tied together"<sup>64</sup>—both consequences are stated without the embellishment that the build-up of the story at the beginning contained.

The two fragments use the same narrative strategy: they begin with men who have a strong interest in desirable objects, enjoy for some time what they win, and end in the quarries or death. There is drama, but no happy end. If these two stories are representative for Phainias's work *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*, and this is a big "if" because the material is so scanty, this would allow the following conclusion: Phainias wrote short stories that contained some drama in which someone takes an initiative, succeeds, enjoys for some time the fruit of his success until either he doesn't know the limits and thus causes his own downfall or his success is so remarkable that someone else wants to share it and this intrusion causes the catastrophe; in the latter case, in a more complicated structure, a third party intervenes and interrupts a happy relationship; this disruption is met with resistance, the grieved party seeks revenge which succeeds, but this act comes at the cost of the life of the person who exacted the revenge. Unrestrained desires ultimately cause one's own downfall, which may bring down others affected as well.

If this form of story was followed generally in Phainias' work, then we are not dealing with "specialization and differentiation in research,"<sup>65</sup> we are not dealing with research at all but with literature, well written short stories that seem to follow a certain typical pattern. There is clearly a moral dimension in them because the tyrant is killed

<sup>63</sup> εἰς τὰς λατομίας ἐνεβλήθη **17** l. 14/ 13 l. 11f. W/ F 2 l. 84 *FGrHist* 1012.

<sup>64</sup> διέφυγεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ προβάτοις συνδεδεμένοις ἀμφιπεσὼν ἐχειρώθη **20** l. 21–23 / 16 l. 18 W / F 5 l. 114f. *FGrHist* 1012.

<sup>65</sup> "Specialization and Differentiation" was the subtitle of the conference on Phainias in Trier 2011.



out of revenge for something he did; however, whether Phainias presented his stories as lessons to be learned by tyrants or left it to the reader to reflect on human life and the temptations of power and to draw his own conclusions we do not know. As far as our texts allow us to judge, in the way he told a story or presented the quality of people and from the emphasis he put on certain aspects of the events or the ends they met, Phainias took sides. Moreover, we can observe one recurring theme, and that is the short-lived nature of happiness. It affects the companion of a tyrant (**17** / 13 W / F 2 *FGrHist* 1012) or the lovers and the tyrant who interfered in their relationship, with losses on both sides (**20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012). This could be a sort of depressing view on life. However, in **20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012, there is some silver lining, first on the level of the *polis*—after the tyrant is killed the old political conditions are restored<sup>66</sup>—and for the individuals involved—the good people receive statues. So there is some sort of poetic justice; in this story posthumous compensation consisting in honors is given to them, and fewer risks await anyone who dares something similar: no sheep tied together will ever again block an escape and hinder the killer of a tyrant from getting away.

Laqueur identified a different literary pattern used by Phainias: Peripatetic doctrine, he argues, aimed at dissolving history into biographies whereby the decisive weight was put on the ethos of the persons who acted.<sup>67</sup> To judge from the few existing fragments, in particular **20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012, one should not use the term biography, e.g. of the tyrant of Herakleia. The focus is here not on the tyrant and his end (this is briefly dispensed with: Antileon “running towards the tyrant when he was leaving his palace killed him”<sup>68</sup>) but on the two lovers one of whom kills the tyrant. Whether Phainias had more to offer in the original story we do not know. However, if, as I

<sup>66</sup> τῆς πόλεως εἰς τάρχαϊον ἀποκαταστάσης, **20** l. 23 / 16 l. 19 W / F 6 l. 116 *FGrHist* 1012.

<sup>67</sup> “die peripatetische Lehre hat ... die Geschichte überhaupt in Biographien aufzulösen getrachtet, wobei auf das Ethos der handelnden Personen entscheidendes Gewicht gelegt wurde,” *RE* XIX 2, 1566. He cites Leo, 1901 (1990), 110: “Ueberhaupt ist er (i.e. Phainias) ... von viel grösserer Bedeutung für die Entwicklung dieser Litteratur als aus der Zahl der Anführungen zu schliessen wäre.” See above p. 331 with n. 43.

<sup>68</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ οἴκοθεν ἐξιόντα τὸν τύραννον προσδραμὼν ἀνεῖλεν, **20** l. 20–21 / 16 l. 28 W / F 5 l. 113f. *FGrHist* 1012.

mentioned as a caveat, the proportions of the sections of the text preserved by Parthenios reproduce those of Phainias, then the personal circumstances of those who attack the tyrant are more important than any other aspects. This focus on the lovers excludes a biographical interest in the tyrant and is a strong indication that Phainias' *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* cannot belong to the genre of biographical literature. We rejected this explanation for a different reason when dealing with **19** / 15 W / F 4 *FGrHist* 1012 where Phainias in his description of the tyrant Philoxenos used existing distinctions among ways of making a living, which suggests that he did not write as a biographer and observer of reality but as someone who saw individuals as representatives of philosophical categories and characterized them in terms of familiar labels.<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand, there is some truth in Laqueur's remark that "the decisive weight was put on the *ēthos* of the persons who acted." There is *ēthos* in the description of the despicable lifestyle of the tyrant Skopas (**18** / 14 W / F 3 *FGrHist* 1012) or of the daring undertaking of Antileon (**20** / 16 W / F 5 *FGrHist* 1012). In all these cases the motivation for the actions of at least one party of the story is well presented. However, one should not limit oneself to *ēthos* since in **19** / 15 W / F 4 *FGrHist* 1012 we are informed about the social background and occupations of the future tyrant, and we can generally say that Phainias is eager to present background information of any sort that throws light on the people involved. However, we do not know whether he ever developed in a more general form a link between the various forms of behavior, offense or provocation a tyrant displayed on the one hand and the specific emotions stirred up in citizens as their response to the treatment they received on the other, which makes them attack the tyrant, as is the pattern of explanation in Aristotle.

For Wehrli Phainias' *modus operandi* consists in replacing the brief examples in Aristotle by a series of independent novellas<sup>70</sup>—instead of „novellas” I would prefer „short stories.” When stating that these stories were “independent” Wehrli seems to suggest that this work of Phainias was nothing more than a collection of stories that did not add

<sup>69</sup> See above p. 331.

<sup>70</sup> SA IX 32 “Ph. scheint die hier (in Aristotle *Pol.* 5.10) knapp aufgezählten Beispiele durch eine Reihe selbständiger Novellen ersetzt zu haben ...”



up to a meaningful whole that might have been guided by some unifying theoretical interest. However, we are not in a position to ascertain this possibility or answer any other question these texts suggest. In which way were the individual stories of killings of tyrants organized? Was the order of the cases reported guided by some principle, e.g. according to different types of events that provoked anger and led to such killings? Was there an attempt to reach any conclusions and gain some theoretical insight into the typical conditions that provoked such killings, maybe combined with advice to tyrants as to how to avoid such incidents? Or were these stories simply told as a sequence of independent events, by adding one example of killing a tyrant to another without following any systematic principle?<sup>71</sup> The small number of fragments transmitted does not allow an answer on any of these issues.

Laqueur<sup>72</sup> refers to *Pol.* 5.10 1311a35<sup>73</sup> where Aristotle discusses attacks against the life of tyrants out of anger and identifies that the purpose of such attacks in most cases is “for the sake of revenge” (τιμωρίας χάριν). Laqueur writes on Phainias’ work: “it almost looks like the execution of a topic that had been dealt with briefly by Aristotle.”<sup>74</sup> This is a cautious statement, and rightly so since all we possess is the title *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*, two fragments attributed to this work both of which don’t report the killing, and one fragment (17 / 13 W / F 2 *FGrHist* 1012) that contains an account of the killing of a tyrant out of revenge but is transmitted without the title of the work where it was found. Laqueur’s assessment may or may not be correct. However, it leaves more questions open than it answers.

Since one needs to assume that in his stories Phainias illustrated just *one* type of motive for killing a tyrant, revenge, which Aristotle had identified as *one among many*, the difference between the two authors

<sup>71</sup> Engels, *FGrHist* IV 1, Fasc. 1, 1998, 301 assumes this when he describes Phainias’ *Murder of Tyrants out of Revenge* “a ... systematically arranged compilation of concrete historical examples ...”

<sup>72</sup> Laqueur, s.v. Phainias *RE* XIX 2 col. 1566.

<sup>73</sup> 5.10 1311a31–35 τῶν δ’ ἐπιθέσεων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα γίνονται τῶν ἀρχόντων, αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. αἱ μὲν οὖν δι’ ὕβριν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα. τῆς δ’ ὕβρεως οὐσης πολυμεροῦς, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίνεται τῆς ὀργῆς· τῶν δ’ ὀργιζομένων σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τιμωρίας χάριν ἐπιτίθενται.

<sup>74</sup> See above n. 31 with the original quote in German.

is actually significant. One approach, it seems, must be excluded for Phainias, and that is an interest in the larger context in which Aristotle has placed this particular cause of attacks against tyrants. The fact that Phainias selected only one aspect, one cause, demonstrates that the whole spectrum of possible reasons leading to attacks against tyrants was of no interest to him, at least in his work *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge*. Instead, Phainias accepted the limitation to one cause, and within this limitation his interest must have been to collect individual examples of such killings<sup>75</sup> and to tell them in an attractive way. Aristotle approaches the issue from the opposite end: in *Politics* 5 killing of tyrants, for whatever reasons, is just one part of the more comprehensive project of “studying thoroughly the reasons why a monarchy is destroyed or why it is by its nature preserved” as he introduces it in 5.10.<sup>76</sup> Killing a tyrant is often, but not necessarily, the end of a tyrannical regime because at times family members of a killed tyrant hold on to power, as Hipparchos’ brother Hippias in Athens did; he was, therefore, not the real objective of Aristotle’s enquiry, since he is not interested in the individual tyrant but in the regime.

This broader approach pursued in Aristotle’s *Politics* also reflects his views in the *Poetics*. There, at 9 1451a36–b12, he contrasts the specific task of the historian<sup>77</sup> who gives an account of “the particular events” (τὰ καθ’ ἑκάστων) “that happened” (τὰ γενόμενα) to an individual with the task of the poet who tells “events that have the potential to take place (τὰ δυνατόν) according to likelihood or necessity,” “in a way as they might well take place” (οἷα ἂν γένοιτο), in other words: “he describes rather events that are universal” (τὰ καθόλου). “Universal” he defines as “what sorts of things it occurs to a person of a certain character to say or to do according to likelihood or necessity; and it is this universality at which poetry aims ...”<sup>78</sup> Therefore, Aristotle concludes, poetry is in its nature more philosophical

<sup>75</sup> See above p. 340 with n. 70 (Wehrli).

<sup>76</sup> *Pol.* 5.10 1310a39, cited above n. 12.

<sup>77</sup> S. R. Zoepffel, *Historia und Geschichte bei Aristoteles*, Abh. Heidelberger Ak. d. Wiss., Philos.-Hist. Kl., 1975., 2. Abh.

<sup>78</sup> 1451b8–10 ἔστιν δὲ καθόλου μὲν, τῷ ποίῳ τὰ ποῖα ἅττα συμβαίνει λέγειν ἢ πράττειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, οὐ στοχάζεται ἢ ποιήσις.



than history. The latter discipline deals with particulars, which he explains with the example “what Alcibiades did or experienced.”<sup>79</sup>

The topic of Aristotle's investigation into tyranny as announced at *Pol.* 5.10 1310a39f. (“to investigate from which causes monarchy is destroyed and by what (means) it is by nature preserved”<sup>80</sup>) refers to these universals. This focus on universals is indicated by his claim to investigate the preservation of tyranny “according to nature” (πέφυκεν). “According to nature” indicates that certain causes can be expected as being inherently the reason for specific events and as leading to certain actions or results “always or most of the time.”<sup>81</sup> By announcing at *Pol.* 5.10 1310a39f. his intent to study *causes* (ἐξ ὧν, δι' ὧν) Aristotle affirms his principle of philosophical enquiry according to which one should not be satisfied with identifying the facts, the *hoti*, but go beyond them to the underlying causes, *dihoti*.<sup>82</sup>

Does the title of Phainias' work *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* indicate that he dealt with individuals who are in Aristotle the subject matter of history but not the subject of philosophy? This does not seem to be the case, and Phainias may not have moved completely from political philosophy to historiography. His title *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* reveals that this work does not meet Aristotle's definition of history since Phainias does not deal with the fate of *one* tyrant—equivalent to Aristotle's “what Alcibiades did or experienced”—but a specific group that shares the experience of being killed out of revenge. One might call this a lower-level-universal since it covers a specific category of people,<sup>83</sup> but this is clearly not a universal on the

<sup>79</sup> 1451b10f. τὸ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον, τί Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπραξεν ἢ τί ἔπαθεν. Does Aristotle refer to biography?

<sup>80</sup> Cited in Greek above n. 12.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *EE* 7.2 1247a31–33 ἀλλὰ μὲν ἢ γε φύσις αἰτία ἢ τοῦ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἢ τοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ἢ δὲ τύχη τοῦναντίον. *Rhet.* 1.10 1369a36 φύσει δὲ ὅσων ἢ τ' αἰτία ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τεταγμένη· ἢ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει ... This standard of nature is applied to the kind of knowledge needed by an orator regarding the causes of destruction of constitutions: 1.4 1360a20ff. ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναι πόσα τέ ἐστι πολιτειῶν εἶδη, καὶ ποῖα συμφέρει ἑκάστη, καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων φθείρεσθαι πέφυκεν καὶ οἰκείων τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἐναντίων.

<sup>82</sup> *An. Post.* 1.13 78a22; *Met.* A 1 981a29.

<sup>83</sup> Such a lower-level universal is in line with Aristotle's approach; cf. *Pol.* 1.13 1260a24ff. where he prefers an approach that defines the specific qualities of specific groups (*kata meros*) over a universal definition. Because of this lower-level universal

level of a comprehensive study of tyranny that includes an exhausting analysis of the many causes of attacks against a tyrant in the larger context of an investigation into the destruction or preservation of monarchies<sup>84</sup> as Aristotle had done it in the chapters on monarchy. However, even this topic of *Pol.* 5.10 is only a subordinate aspect of the comprehensive study of constitutions as he had announced it at *EN* 10.10 and actually undertakes it in *Politics*. Starting with the statement of his subject matter in the most general terms

1. “It is better that we pursue *the investigation* of legislation and generally *of constitution*,”<sup>85</sup> the topics of Aristotle’s investigation are more and more narrowed down:

2. “... to *investigate* what sorts of things preserve and *destroy states* and what sorts of things do this to *each of the constitutions*,”<sup>86</sup> and more specifically,

3. “it is left to *study* thoroughly the reasons why *a monarchy is destroyed* or is by its nature preserved,”<sup>87</sup> and finally,

4. “*attacks* are directed *either against the life of tyrants or against the (form of) rule*.”<sup>88</sup>

In the outline of topics Aristotle promises to investigate in order to complete his account of the “philosophy of human affairs” (*EN* 10.10 1181b14ff.), one can identify a clear architecture that defines the subject matter of investigation in increasingly less universal and more specific terms with the result that the topic of attacks against tyrants has its place at the bottom of an investigation that starts with the study of constitutions in most general terms and turns in an increasingly less universal and more focused manner on particular causes.

If one assesses Phainias’ project of *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* by using the terms of Aristotle’s constitutional studies as the guiding principle, it seems that Phainias, who pursued one specific

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approach I would not want to consider Phainias’ *Murder of Tyrants out of Revenge* a work of biographical nature.

<sup>84</sup> *Pol.* 5.10 1310a39, cited above n. 12.

<sup>85</sup> *EN* 10.10 1181b12–14 παραλιπόντων οὖν τῶν προτέρων ἀνερεύνητον τὸ περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας, αὐτοὺς ἐπισκέψασθαι μᾶλλον βέλτιον ἴσως, καὶ ὅλως δὴ περὶ πολιτείας.

<sup>86</sup> *EN* 10.10 1181b17–19 εἶτα ἐκ τῶν συνηγμένων πολιτειῶν θεωρήσαι τὰ ποῖα σώζει καὶ φθείρει τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ποῖα ἐκάστας τῶν πολιτειῶν.

<sup>87</sup> *Pol.* 5.10 1310a39, cited above n. 12.

<sup>88</sup> *Pol.* 5.10 1311a31f. τῶν δ’ ἐπιθέσεων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα γίνονται τῶν ἀρχόντων, αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν.



cause (“out of revenge”), never grasped or intended to pursue the more universal principles of political philosophy in which, as just shown, Aristotle placed these events.<sup>89</sup> **20** / 16 W / F5 *FGrHist* 1012 can confirm this. The overthrow of the tyrant of Herakleia is a very personal story. There is no indication that it is part of a larger context of analysis of specific emotions—the reaction of Antileon who is “greatly aggravated” (δυσανασχετήσας) is what one expects, and is a reaction any lover would experience if someone takes away the loved one. The equivalent in Thucydides’ account of the murder of Hipparchos is the reaction of Aristogeiton who “was in great pain” (περι-αλγήσας, 6.54.3). However, in Phainias it is not presented as part of a philosophical analysis of emotions in their political dimension that is meant to provide insights into the weakness of a tyrannical regime whose survival is threatened by unacceptable personal behavior or actions of those in power and by the emotional response of those affected by this conduct. This is different in Aristotle. At *Pol.* 5.10 1311a32ff.<sup>90</sup> he traces attacks against the life of a tyrant back to the reaction of subjects who experienced humiliating treatment (*hubris*) from a tyrant. While Aristotle distinguished many kinds of *hubris* he makes the universally valid claim that *each of them* becomes the *cause* (αἴτιον) of anger.

His brief statements in *Pol.* 5.10 can be supported by his *Rhetoric*. It is this kind of perceived injustice which according to *Rhet.* 2.2 stirs up anger in the person who has been abused in such a humiliating fashion.<sup>91</sup> *Rhet.* 2.2 provides the larger theoretical framework for the specific cases of anger discussed in *Politics* 5. It is the existence of such a larger theoretical framework that is available for a more complete and more in-depth analysis of the issues mentioned only briefly in another work in a different context that distinguishes these specific remarks about anger in *Politics* 5 from ad hoc observations as we find

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Wehrli *SA* IX 30 “Novellen ..., deren Wahl und Behandlung im einzelnen nicht mehr von staatstheoretischem Interesse bestimmt war.”

<sup>90</sup> αἱ μὲν οὖν δι’ ὕβριν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα. τῆς δ’ ὕβρεως οὕσης πολυμεροῦς, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν αἴτιον γίγνεται τῆς ὀργῆς· τῶν δ’ ὀργιζομένων σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τιμωρίας χάριν ἐπιτίθενται. This passage was referred to by Laqueur in order to describe the relationship of Phainias to Aristotle, above n. 31.

<sup>91</sup> *Rhet.* 2.2 1378a31f. Ἔστω δὲ ὀργὴ ὄρεξις μετὰ λύπης τιμωρίας [φαινομένης] διὰ φαινομένην ὀλιγοψύχον εἰς αὐτόν.

them in Phainias (**20** l. 18 δυσανασχετήσας / 16 W l. 16 / F 5 l. 112 *FGrHist* 1012)—or Thucydides (6.54.3). None of the three surviving fragments from his treatise *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* reveals that Phainias went beyond telling a story to an explanation of the “causes” of such actions or went beyond the description of a specific emotion at play in the particular event to refer to a concept of emotion as Aristotle does—Phainias indicates only an awareness of the fact of such resentment by the victim of the tyrant’s action as it had been observed in a similar situation and recorded by Thucydides,<sup>92</sup> but Phainias does not reveal a theoretical concept behind it. As far as the few and short texts allow us to judge, Phainias’ *Killing of Tyrants out of Revenge* does not reveal Aristotelian influence as a study in constitutional history nor does it belong to the emerging genre of biography but seems to have been a collection of well written stories in which a downfall suffered is deserved because victims of a tyrant did not put up with the treatment they had received but took revenge.

I will conclude this paper with a few remarks on the other work by Phainias on tyrants. At the end of Phainias **16** (l. 30f.) / 11 (l. 22) W / F 1 (l. 59f.) *FGrHist* 1012, transmitted by Athenaeus, we read: “Phainias reports the same things in his work *On the Tyrants in Sicily*.”<sup>93</sup> This is the only fragment specifically attested for this work of Phainias,<sup>94</sup> and the remark quoted indicates that the account given so far is taken from a different author and adds Phainias as another author who had presented the preceding information about dedications to Apollo in Delphi. However, for whichever reason, Athenaeus decided for the main part of the account not to use that of Phainias. As its author Theopompos is identified—that is Theopompos of Chios (ca. 378 to 320 B.C.) whose work is cited with title and the number of the book where this account was given: book 40 of the *Philippika* (ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν Φιλίππικῶν). However, Phainias is important enough to be cited at the beginning before Theopompos for one detail: the statue of Apollo in Delphi was not made of silver but gold.

<sup>92</sup> See above p. 345, reference to Thuc. 6.54.3.

<sup>93</sup> ἱστορεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Φαινίας ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυράννων.

<sup>94</sup> For **17** / 13 W, F 2 *FGrHist* 1012 which does not identify the work of Phainias to which it belongs but deals with the tyrant Dionysios I and his interaction with the poet Philoxenos, see above p. 337. It belongs very likely to this work—if not to Phainias’ *On Poets*.



The main topic of this text is the novelty of setting up golden statues in Delphi where they had been made of bronze until then. The first dedication of golden statues is ascribed here to Gyges, king of the Lydians, and to his successor Kroisos. Since they are called “kings” and since the area of their rule is the East, it makes sense to attribute this part of the story to Theopompos,<sup>95</sup> as Wehrli<sup>96</sup> does, and not to Phainias' *On the Tyrants in Sicily*. In fact, the following story about the Spartans and Hieron also belong to Theopompos.<sup>97</sup>

Kroisos serves as a link to an account about similar ambitions in mainland Greece: for a more modest attempt by the Spartans to gild the face of Apollo at Amyklai, the difficulties of finding enough gold are mentioned. The Spartans receive the oracle from Apollo to buy the gold from Kroisos. This pattern repeats itself when we read later in this fragment that Hieron of Syracuse wanted to set up a tripod for Apollo and a Nike statue out of gold. We are informed now about his efforts to find the gold which he eventually bought from a Corinthian named Architelēs. Only at this point are we told that Phainias gave the same account. This remark makes clear that the preceding part of the story has to be understood as a citation from Theopompos.<sup>98</sup> Not related in the account of Theopompos was the similar attempt by another Sicilian tyrant, Gelon, and this allows the conclusion that Phainias had reported on his efforts to match those of Hieron (Wehrli l.c.).

The text focuses on the fact of this novelty of raising the value of dedications to the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi to a new level of preciousness as it was introduced by kings in the East, who were known for their wealth, and by two tyrants in the West but is silent about any intention behind these efforts. Therefore, it is not clear whether Phainias simply reported these efforts of two Sicilian tyrants or whether he actually gave an explanation why Hieron and Gelon set up golden statues in Delphi.

<sup>95</sup> λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ Θεόπομπος **16** l. 10f. / 11 l. 8f. W.

<sup>96</sup> SA IX 30.

<sup>97</sup> Jacoby *FGrHist* 115 (Theopompus) F 193 ends with Hieron's gift to Architeles: ... ἀνθ' ὧν Ἱέρων πλοῖον σίτου καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ δῶρα ἔπεμψεν ἐκ Σικελίας.

<sup>98</sup> However, if Phainias had reported “the same” it is quite possible that parts of the story that deal with Sicilian tyrants might go back to Phainias. If in fact this part is conflated from two sources we are not in a position to separate them and assign sections to their respective authors with absolute certainty.

We do not learn anything about the reasons for the efforts of these tyrants. We might assume that one purpose of this act was an attempt to influence the oracle in Delphi, which was consulted in political disputes. We know that Kleisthenes was responsible for building a temple in Delphi and went beyond the agreed upon material, limestone, by using marble for the façade. The Delphic oracle rewarded this by fulfilling his wish of telling the Spartans to liberate Athens.<sup>99</sup> In Phainias **16** / 11 W / F 1 *FGrHist* 1012 the oracle directed the Spartans, who were asking for a source of gold, to Kroisos, and it may not be a coincidence that Kroisos had dedicated votive offerings in Delphi in a precious material not used before for such a purpose.

Another motive for kings and tyrants to set up golden statues in Delphi may have been the intention to display their wealth and power ostentatiously—an Athenian counterpart of such an undertaking in a religious context would be the building of the temple of the Olympian Zeus that was started, but not completed under Peisistratos. In fact, being perceived as taking religious matters seriously is according to Aristotle *Pol.* 5.11 1314b38–1315a3 a strategy recommended to tyrants so that they avoid attempts to overthrow them.<sup>100</sup> The account of the measures taken by the tyrants of Sicily as described by Phainias could well be inspired by Aristotle's political philosophy and be told as an example that illustrates a general principle that Aristotle had developed in his more comprehensive description of ways for tyrants to protect their rule. However, we do not know whether Phainias went beyond telling the facts and identified the goals pursued.

From a different perspective, we find an analogy to the efforts of tyrants to introduce a more precious metal in religious offerings described in Phainias **16** / 11 W / F 1 *FGrHist* 1012 in Heraclides Ponticus fr. 144<sup>101</sup>, an account about Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, “as the first of anyone to mint coinage in Aegina, and he gave out the coinage and collected the nails and dedicated them to Hera in Argos.” I consider this account part of a tradition that saw in tyrants the forces of change and innovation. In Phainias **16** / 11 W / F 1 *FGrHist* 1012 we

<sup>99</sup> Hdt. 5.62.2–63.1.

<sup>100</sup> Cited above n. 34.

<sup>101</sup> Heraclides Ponticus fr. 144 Schütrumpf πρώτος δὲ πάντων Φείδων Ἀργεῖος νόμισμα ἔκοψεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ διδοὺς τὸ νόμισμα καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὀβελίσκους ἀνέθηκε τῇ ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ἥρᾳ.



are dealing more with the improvement of the quality of the material and the elevation of religious culture by introducing a more precious metal in dedications than the one that was used until then. In Heracles Ponticus, the newer, more precious metal becomes an article of everyday use whereas Pheidon dedicated to Hera the old, no longer used, primitive specimens of currency. Pheidon did not compete in his dedications of nails made of iron with the public display of wealth by the tyrants of the East or from Sicily.

There are no other fragments attested explicitly to Phainias' *On the tyrants in Sicily* although **17** / fr. 13 W / F 2 *FGrHist* 1012 belongs very likely to this work, it has been discussed above (p. 336ff.).

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# 11

## The Plants of Phaenias

*Mechthild Siede*

Fifteen texts with botanical content remain from Phaenias, almost all coming from Athenaeus. Through him, we know that Phaenias, quoted under the title of Περὶ Φυτῶν or Φυτικά, wrote a phytological work in at least five books. As Wehrli has already described, he shared his botanical interest with his contemporary Theophrastus and he proves also to be a worthy student of Aristotle and representative of the Peripatos, last but not least through his scientific research.<sup>1</sup> In modern scholarship, however, interest in Phaenias as a botanist seems as limited as the surviving evidence suggests that it was in antiquity.<sup>2</sup> It seems worthwhile nevertheless to devote to the fragments once again the interest of a modern botanist, especially in light of the over thirty plants that are mentioned, which include not only commonly known species. Despite the small amount of text preserved, they suggest a work of quality. In the following, after previous identifications have been shown to be somewhat untenable from a modern

<sup>1</sup> See in this volume W. Fortenbaugh, 115–118.

<sup>2</sup> As far as I can see only Meyer (1965) 189–193 (collection of the fragments extracted from Athenaeus with translation and commentary in part) and Wehrli (1969) 19–21 have attended to Phaenias up to now; Wehrli 40–42 (fragments extracted from Athenaeus and four more, also with brief commentary).

point of view, a focus will be directed to new proposals for identification in problematic cases. I also attempt first to answer how this work of Phaenias may have been composed, and secondly, to what extent the characteristics of his botany may be revealed in relation to that of Theophrastus. In order to illustrate possible thematic links among the plants of Phaenias, in the following the fragments are handled in an order different from that of Wehrli or Engels. Initially a group of four texts is considered that may indicate, through book numbers, how Phaenias' work *On Plants* was designed.

## 42

καὶ Φαινίας δὲ ἐν α' περὶ φυτῶν· “τὰ δὲ οὐδὲ φύει τὴν ἀνθήλην οὐδὲ τῆς σπερματικῆς ἵχνης κορυνήσεως οὐδὲ σπερματώσεως, οἷον μύκης, ὕδνον, πτέρις, ἕλιξ.” ὁ αὐτός φησι· “πτέρις, ἣν ἔνιοι βλάχνον καλοῦσι.”

Phaenias in his first book of *On Plants* (writes): “some produce no flower-tuft or trace of a seed-pod or seed-production, for instance the mushroom, truffle, fern, and ivy.” And the same author says: “the fern, which some authorities refer to as *blachnon*.”

(trans. Olson, modified by Engels)

The testimony is vexing in two ways: on the one hand the terminology for the bloom (ἀνθήλη) and seeds (τῆς – ἵχνης), on the other the inclusion of ivy alongside three cryptogams. If one looks closer at the terminology used by Phaenias, according to Athenaeus, he may here have had special flower shapes in mind: Theophrastus also uses the term ἀνθήλη and indeed in connection with various types of reeds, characterizing their striking clustering of flowers (inflorescence);<sup>3</sup> in *Hist. plant.* 4.10.4, he speaks of the “so-called ἀνθήλη of the φλέος.”<sup>4</sup> Dioscorides reports that some also called the inflorescence of the τύφη ἀνθήλη.<sup>5</sup> The structure of the text suggests that Phaenias gave some thought to choosing the term, and it is a matter of the striking form of the flower shape, like a spike or a tuft. Also, κορυνή implies a special form of knobby bud, as the seedpod or ovary may be described. It is therefore conceivable that Phaenias wanted to group those examples

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. plant.* 4.11.4: *Arundo* ssp.; Amigues (2006) s.v. *kálamos*.

<sup>4</sup> *Saccharum ravennae*: Amigues (2003a) 275f. Nr. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Dioscorides 3.11 Wellmann; *Typha angustata*, cf. Amigues (2003a) 277 Nr. 12; the inflorescence is similar to that of the middle-European bulrush.



of plants together not because they carry no flowers or seeds at all, but simply because they do not belong to a parent group of blossoming and fructifying plants with spike-like generative characteristics, which in the context may be what is discussed. Certainly ἀνθήλη and κορύνησις are sometimes neutral terms, so that a general understanding of “flower, ovary, and seeds” seems reasonable.<sup>6</sup> Support for the latter view may also be found in the fact that, according to the very accurate description by Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* 3.18.7), ἔλιξ clearly identifies the early form of the ivy. This blooms and fruits not only when the ivy, as it were, as adult adopts its mature leaves, but is earlier capable of generative propagation. Thus, the ivy, ostensibly as the only seed plant, gains association to the three sporophytes that lack the generative organs comparable to flowering plants. Regardless of whether the text reveals a general dissociation of flowering plants from not flowering, and so fruiting plants from not fruiting, the following remains to be stated: text **42** provides an example of plant categorization from the first book, or rather a survey of the plant kingdom through assembling of certain plant groups according to specific characteristics. The text closes with a terminological note, which recurs often with Phaenias.

The following text, **43**, offers no difficulty with regard to identification:

### 43

Φαινίας δ' ἐν ε' περὶ φυτῶν κάκτον Σικελικήν τινα καλεῖ, ἀκανθῶδες φυτόν, ὡς καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν ἕκτῳ περὶ φυτῶν (*Hist. plant.* 6.4.10–11): “ἡ δὲ κάκτος καλουμένη περὶ Σικελίαν μόνον, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι δ' οὐκ ἔστι.”

Phaenias in book five of *On Plants* mentions a Sicilian cactus, which is a spiny plant. Likewise Theophrastus in book six of *On Plants* (says): “the so-called *kaktos* is found only around Sicily, and not in Greece.”

(transl. Olson, modified by Engels)

The identification of the Sicilian *kaktos* as the artichoke, *Cynara cardunculus*, is quite certain, as can be determined from the exact

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the translation of Meyer (1965) 191: “... weder Blüte, noch eine Spur des Fruchtknotens oder des Samens ...”.

description by Theophrastus in *Hist. plant.*<sup>7</sup> Whether the mention of the plant in the 5<sup>th</sup> book of Phaenias is really evidence for a classification of prickly plants, as Wehrli suspects,<sup>8</sup> must remain open. Similarly, in view of the comment of Theophrastus that the plant does not appear in Greece, a phytogeographical thesis can be imagined as an overarching theme. The indirect citation unfortunately also provides no other evidence whether Phaenias, who possibly spent some time in Sicily, knew the plant from his own experience.

## 44

Φαινίας δ' ἐν ε' περὶ φυτῶν γράφει οὕτως· “κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ σπέρματος φύσιν ὁ καλούμενος σήψ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σταφυλίνου σπέρμα.” κὰν τῷ πρώτῳ δέ φησι· “πετασώδη τὴν τῶν σπερμάτων ἀπέιληφε φύσιν ἄννησον, μάρathon, σταφυλῖνος, καυκαλῖς, κώνειον, κόριον, σκιάς, ἣν ἔνιοι μυηφόνον.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρου ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ Νίκανδρος, προσapoδοτέον ὅτι καὶ Φαινίας ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ βιβλίῳ γράφει οὕτως· “δρακόντιον, ὃ ἔνιοι ἄρον † ἄρωνία †.”

Phaenias in book five of *On Plants* writes as follows: “as for the character of the seed itself, the so-called *seps* (?) and carrot-seed.”<sup>9</sup> And in book one he says: “plants with umbelliferous seed-pods are anise, fennel, carrot, *kaukalis* (?), hemlock, coriander, and *skiás* (referred to by some authorities as mousebane).” Given that Nicander mentioned cuckoo-pint (fr. 71.4 Schneider), I should also acknowledge that Phaenias writes as follows in the book quoted above: “*dra-kontion*, referred to by some authorities as cuckoo-pint.”

(transl. Olson modified)

The fragment is difficult to interpret in several individual passages, which I would like to discuss first: On ὁ καλούμενος σήψ Meyer and Wehrli have already raised concerns, since σήψ, with regard to content, does not fit in its ordinary meaning, “decay”. Kaibel referred to the passage with regard to indications in Nicander (*Ther.* 843) and Dioscorides (3.54) that the seed of the σταφυλῖνος helps against the bite of the snake “Seps”. That is not possible syntactically, as noted already by Wehrli, since σήψ and σταφυλίνου σπέρμα are grouped together.<sup>10</sup> Meyer suspects that σήψ had an otherwise unknown

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Amigues (2003b) 176f.

<sup>8</sup> Wehrli (1969) 41; Olson (2008) 212.

<sup>9</sup> After Amigues (2006) 190, it is not the carrot, but an umbellifer broadly.

<sup>10</sup> Wehrli (1969) 41.



meaning, or, more likely, that there was here a similar word, which indicated an umbelliferous plant or something similar, a sort of masculine equivalent σκέψ to σκέπη/σκέπας (= screen, roof), which is, however, not documented.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, could σήψ not be parallel to σπέρμα and also refer to the seeds or to the shape of the seed of a specific plant, which perhaps recalled a lizard or snake in its slim form<sup>12</sup> or in its function as an antidote?<sup>13</sup>

The term σκιάς also presents difficulties in the second part of the text. That is the word is the manuscript tradition, while Wehrli and Olson follow the conjecture of Wilamowitz, σκίλλα. It prompted a note in Hesychius, who explains σκίλλα as “σκαμμωνία, θανατηφόρος μυῶν”<sup>14</sup> with the parallel “ἦν ἔνιοι μυηφόνον” offered as a synonym. Based on botanical grounds σκίλλα is identified as the squill (*Urginea maritima*), but here that is certainly not correct. Here it concerns plants with umbrella-like seed stands, such as the πετασώδη φύσις, as well as a long list of examples that are all *Apiaceae* (anise, fennel, carrot, zirmet, hemlock, coriander). Also μυηφόνον, which is probably identical with μυοφόνον in Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* 6.1.4), will accordingly be an instance of the *Apiaceae*.<sup>15</sup> One should, accordingly, follow the manuscript tradition here, even though we have no further knowledge about a plant called *skias*, “shadow-plant” (“Schattenpflanze”). It may very well be a local name, perhaps for a flowering plant with particularly large or conspicuous umbel as in the case of *Oenanthe silaifolia* or for a representative of another family, such as *Euphorbia lathyris*, which also makes a screen-like inflorescence of considerable size. The synonym “mouse death” would also fit, for even today the seeds of the plant in some areas of southern France are

<sup>11</sup> Meyer (1965) 192–193.

<sup>12</sup> Comparable would be the denomination of plants by resemblance to something, somewhat as Theophrastus in *Hist. plant.* 8.8.3 explains the name *pelekinos* with the fruit of the plant, which is like an axe.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Nic. *Ther.* 843 (with commentary) *seps* means a snake, whose bite causes decay; Diosc. 2.65 mentions a lizard, which when drunk in wine is used as a remedy for its bite.—For the difficulty identifying the *seps* in the fragment of Phaenias cf. Bodson (2009) 231–232.

<sup>14</sup> Hesychius, *Lexicon* (Sigma 984) (vol. 4 [1965] Schmidt 44) with the note: “In *skiás* corruptum est ap. Ath. IX 371 D.”

<sup>15</sup> In her discussion of the passage Amigues (2003b) 126–127 proposes *Oenanthe silaifolia* (Bieb.), Narrow Leaved Water-Dropwort, which is noxious and with a more noticeable umbel than the other species of *Oenanthe*.

considered toxic for root voles. ἀρωνία will be simply a scribal error for ἄρον, the cuckoo pint.

Seen as a whole this fragment is interesting, since again for the first book it indicates an approach that is comparable to the one from **42**: again a specific characteristic, namely umbrella-like infructescence, is verified on the basis of a number of examples of plants. Like **42** this text can be assigned to a classification of plants, according to their seeds, as an overarching context. In the quotation from the fifth book, however, specific properties of individual plants seem to stand in the center. Whether it involved morphological characteristics or perhaps medical properties in this case can be only speculated.

### 52 A<sup>16</sup>

τούτοις εἴ τις ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει ὅτι μὴ τὸ νῦν κιτρίον λεγόμενον σημαίνεται, σαφέστερα μαρτύρια παρατιθέσθω· καίτοι καὶ Φαινίου τοῦ Ἐρεσίου ἔννοιαν ἡμῖν διδόντος μήποτε ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου τὸ κίτριον ὠνόμασται. καὶ γὰρ τὴν κέδρον φησὶν ἐν πέμπτῳ περὶ φυτῶν ἀκάνθας ἔχειν περὶ τὰ φύλλα. ὅτι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὸ κίτριον ἐστὶ παντὶ δῆλον.

If anyone wishes to object to these arguments that what is today called the citron is not being referred to, he should provide evidence clearer than this, although Phaenias of Eresos offers us the hypothesis that perhaps the juniper berry (*kedrion*) produced by the juniper tree is what is being discussed. For he says in book five of *On Plants* that the leaves of the juniper tree are surrounded by spines; that the same is true of the citron is absolutely clear. (*transl. Olson*)

The attention of this fragment is not aimed so much on the individual plants κίτριον and κέδρος, especially since Phaenias has apparently not even treated the derivation of κίτριον from κέδρος, which appears close by in Athenaeus. What concerns Phaenias is only that he determines in the fifth book that the κέδρος has spines in its leaves. If one wanted to understand περὶ τὰ φύλλα in the sense that the leaves are surrounded with spines/thorns, it would be very problematic to reconcile this statement with the identification of the κέδρος with the *Juniperus* species that is assured not least by exact descriptions in Theophrastus.

<sup>16</sup> It is not necessary to list **52 B** (= fr. 47b W.) specifically, since the *Etym. Magn.* relies almost word for word on Athenaeus.



Both here as already—possibly—in **43** and **44** the quotations from the fifth book exhibit a character different from those that stem from the first book inasmuch as in the fifth book individual plants are apparently handled with greater attention to their properties. In what broader context to take them, whether perhaps geographical or with regard to special uses, must remain open.

In addition to the previously discussed texts **42–44** and **52**, which foreground plant taxonomy and morphology, there are several texts that show that Phaenias treated plants also with regard to their practical usability in everyday life. He seems to have dedicated fulsome space at least to the main crops grapes, legumes (leguminous plants) and gourds (*Cucurbitaceae*).

On the subject of grapes, three texts are preserved: **55**, **45**, **46**.

## 55

Φανίας δέ φησιν οἰναρίζειν τὸ περιαιρεῖν τῶν οἰναρεῶν καὶ τρυγᾶν.

Phaenias calls *oinarizein* (to strip off vine-leaves) the taking away of the vine-leaves and the gathering in. (transl. Engels)

The already often observed effort of Phaenias to adhere to synonyms of plants finds here a comparable interest in explaining uncommon vocabulary. The term οἰναρίζειν is in fact rare. Before Phaenias the word occurs only once in Aristophanes (*Peace* 1147), where it refers specifically to the pruning of grapevines, and more specifically the removal of grapevines. Theophrastus did not use it although he repeatedly comes to speak of grape vines, their cultivation and care. Thus, the obviously rare use of the word quite justifies a word of explanation in the context of a specifically botanical text.

## 45 and 46

## 45

φησὶ δὲ Φαινίας ὁ Ἑρέσιος Μενδαίους τοὺς βότρυς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ ῥαίνειν τῷ ἐλατηρίῳ· διὸ γίνεσθαι τὸν οἶνον μαλακόν.

## 358 Phaenias of Eresus

Phaenias of Eresos reports that the inhabitants of Mende sprinkle their grapes with squirting cucumber juice while they are still on the vine, and says that the wine is therefore mild.

### 46

περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθοσμίου οἴνου σκευασίας Φαινίας ὁ Ἑρέσιός φησι τάδε· “γλεύκει παραχεῖται παρὰ χοῦς πεντήκοντα εἰς θαλάσσης καὶ γίνεται ἀνθοσμίας.” καὶ πάλιν· “ἀνθοσμίας γίνεται ἐκ νέων ἀμπέλων ἰσχυρότερος ἢ ἐκ παλαιῶν.” ἔξῃς τέ φησι· “τὰς ὀμφακώδεις συμπατήσαντες ἀπέθεντο καὶ ἀνθοσμίας ἐγένετο.”

Phaenias of Eresos says the following about how *anthosmias* wine is produced: “one chous of sea-water is added to every 50 of grape-must, producing *anthosmias*.” And again: “stronger *anthosmias* is produced from young vines than from older ones.” And immediately after this he says: “they trampled out unripe grapes and put (the juice) into storage, and it turned into *anthosmias*.”

(transl. Olson, modified)

These texts may be a reflection of how comprehensively Phaenias treated the topic of wine. At one point we learn of a special treatment of grapes that the Mendeans prefer, at another different ways of obtaining “Flower Wine” (literally a wine “redolent of flowers”), a sweet, fragrant wine, such as Aristophanes says (*Frogs* 1150; cf. *Thesm.* frg. 336). The nature, the preparation, and regional cultural specificities, even a recipe to report on, recall agricultural compendia such as we have received in Latin literature.

### 53, 48, 51

### 53

μετὰ ταῦτα περιενεχθειςῶν ὀρνίθων τε ὀπτῶν φακῆς τε καὶ πισῶν αὐταῖς χύτραις, ἔτι δὲ τῶν τοιούτων περὶ ὧν Φαινίας ὁ Ἑρέσιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ φυτῶν τάδε γράφει· “πᾶσα γὰρ χεδροπώδης ἡμερος φύσις ἐνσπέρματος ἢ μὲν ἐψησεως ἔνεκα σπείρεται, οἶον [ὁ] κύαμος, πισός· ἐτνηρὸν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἔψημα γίνεται· τὰ δὲ πάλιν αὖθις λεκιθώδη, καθάπερ ἄρακος· τὸ δὲ φακῆς, οἶον [ἀφάκη.] φακός· τὸ δὲ χόρτου ἔνεκα τῶν τετραπόδων ζώων, οἶον ὄροβος μὲν ἀροτήρων βοῶν, ἀφάκη δὲ προβάτων.”

After this, roasted chickens, lentil-soup, and peas were brought around, crock-pots and all, along with items of the sort discussed by Phaenias of Eresos in his



*On Plants*, where he writes the following: “Because all domesticated leguminous plants produce seeds. One type is sown in order to be cooked (for example beans and peas, which are boiled to make soup), while other varieties are more suited to producing gruel (for example *arakos*) or for porridge (for example lentils). The second type is planted to provide forage for four-legged animals (for example bitter vetch for plow-oxen, and tare for sheep and goats).”

(*transl. Olson, modified by Engels*)<sup>17</sup>

## 48

Φαινίας δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ φυτῶν φησι· “τραγήματος ἔχει χώραν ἀπαλὰ μὲν ὥχρος, κύαμος, ἐρέβινθος, ξηρὰ δὲ ἐφθὰ καὶ φρυκτὰ σχεδὸν τὰ πλεῖστα.”

Phaenias in his *On Plants* says: “Cyprus vetch, fava beans, and chickpeas are categorized as snacks, when green; however, mostly (scil. they are eaten) when dried and boiled or roasted.”

(*transl. Olson, modified by Engels*)

## 51

Φαινίας· “βρωτὰ μὲν ἀπαλὰ τῷ περικαρπίῳ σικυὸς καὶ πέπων ἄνευ τοῦ σπέρματος, πεττόμενον δὲ τὸ περικάρπιον μόνον. κολοκύντη δὲ ὥμῃ μὲν ἄβρωτος, ἐφθὴ δὲ καὶ ὀπτὴ βρωτή.”

Phaenias (says): “cucumbers and melons are edible, except for the seeds, once the flesh is soft, the flesh is the only part that is cooked. Gourds are inedible when raw, but are edible if stewed or baked.”

(*transl. Olson*)

Legumes and then also gourds seem to be discussed. Even if on these plants only fragments are preserved through Athenaeus, fragments that provide information with regard to dining, this short excerpt is derived from its culinary interest. It must not be concluded, however, that Phaenias limited himself to culinary aspects. Given the previously mentioned testimonies that reveal much wider views of the flora based on terminological and morphological characteristics, it would be unusual if legumes and gourds would have been interesting for Phaenias only with regard to their food value. The quite detailed discussion of these plants in Theophrastus shows that they have quite remarkable morphological properties, such as with regard to the pulses

<sup>17</sup> The translation of this fragment is fraught with syntactical and terminological difficulties, not least based on the special diction of Phaenias; see Neri (1998) 122–124 especially with regard to the interpretation of ἐνσπέρματος = “rich in seeds.”

and their dimerous seeds (*Hist. plant.* 8.2.2) or the leaf shapes that differ depending according to species (*Hist. plant.* 8.3.1). However, in Theophrastus comments on cooking characteristics are only peripheral (*Hist. plant.* 8.8.6). The causes of these characteristics, namely the soil properties, are in the foreground of his interest (*Hist. plant.* 8.8.6–7).

The following text shows that the plants in addition to the aspects already addressed, such as morphology, terminology, and the use of individual plants, Phaenias' botanical text also considered other factors:

## 50

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Φυτικῶν (*Hist. plant.* 7.13.8): “ἐνιαχοῦ, φησίν, οὕτω γλυκεῖς εἰσιν οἱ βολβοὶ ὥστε καὶ ὠμοὺς ἐσθίεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ χερρονήσῳ.” τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Φαινίας: “ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένος, φησί, βολβῶν, [Θεόφραστος,] ἐριοφόρων, ὃ φύεται ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς· ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἔριον ὑπὸ τοῦς πρώτους χιτῶνας, ὥστε ἀνὰ μέσον εἶναι τοῦ ἐδωδίου τοῦ ἐντὸς καὶ τοῦ ἔξω. ὑφαίνεται δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πόδεια καὶ ἄλλα ἱμάτια,” ὡς καὶ Φαινίας φησί· “τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς τριχῶδες ἐστι.”

Theophrastus says in book seven of *On Plants*: “in some places the hyacinth bulbs are so sweet that they can be eaten raw, as for example in the Tauric Chersonese. Phaenias records the same fact. Theophrastus says also that there is a wool-bearing variety of hyacinth bulb, which grows on sea-shores. Its wool is under its outer layers, and is thus between the edible interior and the skin. Socks and other items of clothing are woven from it,” as Phaenias reports, “and the Indian variety is hairy.” (transl. Olson, modified)

The woolly onion described here is accurately described by Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* 7.13.8), so that it can be identified without difficulty as *Tulipa goulimy* (a tulip found in Greece).<sup>18</sup> Apparently Phaenias also knew about the special edibility of this bulb, but he provides additional geographical information. At least Athenaeus refers to the note of Phaenias that the onion on the same plant is hairy in India. However, Theophrastus explicitly distinguishes the woolly kind (ἐριώδης) with a local presence in Greece from the other, hairy (τριχώδης) kind in India. Has Athenaeus then here confused two statements about actually different bulb types? After all the τὸ δὲ suggests that Phaenias made a distinction of types different according to origin and appearance.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Amigues (2003c) 159f.



Finally, there are two testimonia that describe fruits, first the blackberry in comparison with the mulberry (47), then the mallow (49). Both impress with the accuracy of their description. Since the descriptive approach to the example of the mallow is the special topic of the contribution by B. Anceschi in this volume, I shall briefly discuss here only the blackberry, since the translation of this fragment entails many difficulties. It involves the description of a dried blackberry, whose taste is of interest for Phaenias, but of much greater interest are its components. One would almost assume that Phaenias had one between his fingers as he described it. Even if one knows what is meant, however, a precise transmission of the description is nevertheless difficult because of the unclear state of the manuscript tradition.

## 47

Φαινίας δ' <ὁ> Ἐρέσιος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητὴς τὸν τῆς ἀγρίας συκαμίνου καρπὸν μόρον καλεῖ, ὄντα καὶ αὐτὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ ἥδιστον ὅτε πεπανθείη. γράφει δὲ οὕτως· “τὸ μόρον τὸ βατῶδες ξηρανθείσης τῆς σφαίρας τῆς συκαμινώδους σπερματικὰς ἔχει τὰς συκαμινώδεις †διαγονάς†, καθάπερ †ύφάλους† καὶ διαφυὰς ἔχει ψαθυρὰς καὶ εὐχύμους.”

Phaenias of Eresus, a disciple of Aristotle, refers to the fruit of the wild mulberry as a *moron*; it is quite sweet and enjoyable when ripe. He writes as follows: “the blackberry-*moron*, when its mulberry-like sphere has dried, has mulberry-like divisions full of seeds, just like salty (or dark like the sea?): and it has segments that are crumbly and flavorful.

(*transl. Olson, modified by Engels*)

If one glances at the texts in their entirety, their small number as well as the range of subjects determined by the interests of Athenaeus complicates an overall assessment of the botany of Phaenias and answering of the questions initially posed. However, we may attempt to address first the possible form of the botanical work, and then to outline a possible structure as a hypothesis:

1<sup>st</sup> book: fundamental systems of plants; classification according to morphological criteria, whereby as in Theophrastus a general distinction between flowering and not flowering plants was made, in addition there was a lower level picture of plant groups with typical characteristics such as the umbel flowers.

2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> book: detailed discussion of important crops such as grapes, legumes, gourds, more vegetables; their morphology and use

5<sup>th</sup> book: more crops (*cactus* and others), also trees like the juniper more books?

Not only the scope of at least five books, but also the variety of aspects, which are expressed in the few fragments presented here, testifies that Phaenias must have treated plants in a wide thematic breadth. Whether he covered a similar richness of species as Theophrastus cannot, however, be said, even though the wide number of umbel flowers and on the other hand the consideration of then newly recognized plants, like the hairy onion in India, suggest a similar fullness (as does the rich variety of species in the extant texts). Finally, the extant texts suggest a diverse interest of Phaenias in plants, which has similarities with the botany of Theophrastus, but also some clear differences: 1) the statements of **42** and **44**, which speak for a systematic order of the plant kingdom according to morphological criteria, reveal an approach comparable with the basic designs of Theophrastus in *Hist. plant.* 1. In this regard Phaenias seems to assign more importance however to the flower and fruitfulness (cf. **42** and **44**) than Theophrastus. He did treat specifically the arrangement of the fruit and the seed in the fruit (*Hist. plant.* 1.11.4–6) as well as the diversity of flowers (color, petals, ovary: *Hist. plant.* 1.13.1–5), but the diversity of flower or fruit comes along only peripherally (single-flowered, spike: *Hist. plant.* 1.11.4). The trees are an exception in *Hist. plant.* 1, whose flowers are described as far as they are known. Theophrastus does not name screen-like flowers or seed pods, and the umbelliferae (*Apiaceae*) he surprisingly does not describe according to its striking inflorescence, but according to its vegetative characteristics. 2) Phaenias also has an interest in nomenclature and subject-specific terminology, which may be more pronounced than in Theophrastus. Local variations in the names of plants or their parts also interests Theophrastus (cf. *Hist. plant.* 4.14.3: designation of the disease of “nail” (ἡλος); a synonym for *sphendarnos*, *Hist. plant.* 3.11.2; different names of the ivy fruit, *Hist. plant.* 3.18.6). 3) In particular, the texts indicate a greater consideration of the culinary usability of plants compared with Theophrastus. Although remarks for the practical use of plants as foods occur also in Theophrastus, they are generally only with regard to foreign plants (cf. the lotus in *Hist. plant.* 4.8.11; a



special kind of wild barley in Italy, *Hist. plant.* 4.4.9.; the Egyptian *malinathalle* (a type of sedge), *Hist. plant.* 4.9.12). Regardless of whether the two descriptions of the fruit are to be placed in the context of their edibility, they indicate a very fine ability of observation, which is certainly the basic prerequisite for any in-depth examination of the plant world and which Theophrastus and Phaenias appear to have mastered equally masterly.

In sum, we can without doubt regret the loss of a once high quality treatise that treated the plant world in a comprehensive way with a claim to scientific rigor similar to that of Theophrastus' treatise and which in addition, as an agricultural work, considered practical aspects. For many questions, there are, unfortunately, as far as I can see, no bases to make a start: Did Phaenias perhaps, like Theophrastus, also take up Aristotle's text on plants? Did Theophrastus and Phaenias develop and exchange of whereby the one or the other oriented his text to that of the other? Theophrastus himself never names Phaenias in his botanical works. Did Athenaeus have access to Phaenias' entire text, or did he excerpt from a summary?

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## 12

### **The Metaphor as a Scientific Device in the Botanical Description of the Mallow in Fragment 49 of Phainias of Eresus<sup>1</sup>**

*Barbara Anceschi*

From the few fragments of Phainias of Eresus with botanical content, which are attributed to the work *Περὶ φυτῶν* or *Φυτικά* and almost all stem from Athenaeus, the result is a limited, incomplete, and distorted picture of the work and its contents. Nevertheless, the little material that we have available to us testifies to an undeniable scientific quality in Phainias' botanical studies.<sup>2</sup> Because of the subject, the

<sup>1</sup> This paper represents the further elaboration of a presentation that I delivered at the conference "Phaenias of Eresus and the Early Peripatos: Specialization and Differentiation in Research," which was held July 25–26, 2011, in Trier. I am grateful for the many suggestions and contributions that the other participants in the discussion have supplied, especially to Oliver Hellmann, Mechthild Siede, and Arnaud Zucker. Also, I'm especially thankful to Elisabetta Matelli, Georg Wöhrle, Carlo Maria Mazzucchi and David Mirhady, who translates the text in English. A German version of this essay was published in the journal *Antike Naturwissenschaft und ihre Rezeption* 22 (2012) 9–19.

<sup>2</sup> On the value of Phainias as a botanist see the words of Ernst Meyer in his *Geschichte der Botanik* (1854 to 1857, I, 189): "Aside from his historical and literary-philosophical writings there is also known to be the work *On Plants*, from which only

forms the research takes, and the language used, it is helpful to compare the fragments with the botanical works of Theophrastus, especially since both authors were from Eresus on Lesbos and were joined in friendship.<sup>3</sup> The *Historia plantarum* of Theophrastus reflects the cultural environment, as influenced by the Peripatetic school, in which Phainias' botanical fragments can be seen. Fragment **49** rouses attention in particular because of its sophisticated description of botanical phenomena, which is associated with scientific classification. The fragment describes with great accuracy the Common Mallow, the fruit of the *Malva sylvestris*.<sup>4</sup> First, I propose a possible translation of the fragment:

Φαινίας δ' ἐν τοῖς Φυτικοῖς φησι· τῆς ἡμέρου μαλάχης ὁ σπερματικὸς τύπος καλεῖται πλακοῦς, ἐμφορῆς ὧν αὐτῷ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτενωδὲς ἀνάλογον καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ πλακοῦντος κρηπὶς, κατὰ μέσον δὲ τοῦ πλακουντικοῦ ὄγκου τὸ κέντρον ὀμφαλικόν. καὶ περιληφθείσης τῆς κρηπίδος ὅμοιον γίνεται τοῖς θαλαττίοις περιγεγραμμένοις ἐχίνοις.<sup>5</sup>

Phainias says in the books *On the Plants*: “The seed typos of the domesticated mallow is called a ‘cake’ because it is similar to it. Its comb-like structure is analogous to it,<sup>6</sup> like<sup>7</sup> the base of a cake, and in the middle of the cake-like

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a few passages in Athenaeus survive, but enough to make us feel the loss of the whole more painfully. He seems to have given his attention especially to the shapes of the fruits.”

<sup>3</sup> See **4**.

<sup>4</sup> For this identification see Steier (1928) coll. 922–923.

<sup>5</sup> **49** = Athen. 58d.

<sup>6</sup> ἀνάλογον denotes here the similarity between the compared objects, namely between the mallow fruit and the cake. For a similar use of ἀνάλογον, see [sc. τὴν οἱ ἄγριοι σφῆκες] μὲν μορφήν μείζους καὶ προμηκέστεροι καὶ μελαγχρῶτες τῶν ἐτέρων μᾶλλον, ποικίλοι δὲ καὶ ἔγκεντροι πάντες καὶ ἀλκιμώτεροι, καὶ τὸ πλήγμα ὀδυνηρότερον αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκείνων· καὶ γὰρ τὸ κέντρον ἀνάλογον μείζον τὸ τούτων (Arist., *HA* 8 (9).41 627b25–29); ἐν τούτοις γὰρ τῶν μὲν ὕστερον ἔξεων ἐσομένων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν οἶον ἵχνη καὶ σπέρματα, διαφέρει δ' οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς τῶν θηρίων ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἄλογον εἰ τὰ μὲν ταῦτα τὰ δὲ παραπλήσια τὰ δ' ἀνάλογον ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις (Arist., *HA* 7 (8).1 588a34–b3).

<sup>7</sup> καθάπερ after ἀνάλογον seems to point to a sentence that would have developed the analogy between the cake and mallow fruit image, but only the first element is mentioned. To see others: ἐξ ὧν γὰρ τὴν σύστασιν εἴληφεν, οὐδὲν οὕτω δυνατόν ὁμαλότητα δέξασθαι καὶ ἀκρίβειαν ὡς ἡ τοῦ πέριξ σώματος φύσις· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἀνάλογον ἔχει, καθάπερ ὕδωρ πρὸς γῆν, καὶ τὰ πλεῖον ἀεὶ ἀπέχοντα τῶν συστοίχων (Arist. *De caelo*, 2.4 287b18–21); δεῖ δὲ λαβεῖν τὸ ἐπὶ μέρους ἐφ' ὅλου τοῦ ζῶντος



bulge the center is navel-shaped. And if the base is removed, it becomes similar to sea urchins that are striped on their edges.”

What is striking about Phainias’ fragment is the accuracy of the description. The descriptive power of Phainias’ words allows the reader to gain an accurate picture of the described object so that one is actually able to recognize the subject matter. If you look at the mallow fruit, you immediately recognize a correlation with Phainias’ words. You can see the fruit shape, which is similar to a cake; you can also see the navel-like peak in the middle of the fruit and the similarity to the shell of sea urchins, when the seeds are not encased by the sepals. Through the skillful use of metaphors and comparisons in his botanical description Phainias assures the identification of the plant concerned. It is a good example of what Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* calls “putting (the object) before the eyes” in his treatment of metaphor.<sup>8</sup>

### The botanical classification of the mallow fruit

The fragment not only contains an apt description. As the mallow fruit is described, it is simultaneously assigned to its botanical classes and so systematized. Phainias’ interest in the botanical classification can be recognized already by the expression that identifies the object, namely ὁ σπερματικὸς τύπος. Although simple in structure even if not in meaning, it finds no equivalent in the language of Theophrastus.<sup>9</sup> Over time it has been translated in several ways: in English it is “the seed-mould”<sup>10</sup> or “the seed-pod,”<sup>11</sup> in French “moule seminal.”<sup>12</sup> In his *History of Botany*,<sup>13</sup> however, Ernst Meyer suggests “Frucht-Gestalt” and not “Samen-Gestalt;” probably he was influenced by Phainias’ description, which does not describe the individual seeds, but the mallow

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σώματος· ἀνάλογον γὰρ ἔχει ὡς τὸ μέρος πρὸς τὸ μέρος, οὕτως ἡ ὅλη αἴσθησις πρὸς τὸ ὅλον σῶμα τὸ αἰσθητικόν, ἢ τοιοῦτον (Arist., *De anima* 2.1 412b22–25).

<sup>8</sup> ἔστιν γὰρ ἄλλο ἄλλου κυριώτερον καὶ ὁμοιωμένον μᾶλλον καὶ οἰκειότερον, τῷ ποιεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα πρὸ ὁμμάτων (Arist., *Rhet.* 3.2 1405b11–12). See also: *Rhet.* 3.10 1411a1–1412a10. In this regard, see Tsouna (2003).

<sup>9</sup> In the *Historia plantarum* the word τύπος appears only in the formulation ὡς τύπῳ λαβεῖν. See Strömberg (1937) 30ff. and 150f., Wöhrle (1985) 153–154.

<sup>10</sup> Gulick (1951) I, 255.

<sup>11</sup> Olson (2006) I, 329.

<sup>12</sup> Desrousseaux (1956) 144.

<sup>13</sup> Meyer (1854–1857) I, 191.

fruit as a whole. The problems of interpretation may be explained if one considers that the mallow fruit is one of the fruits that, when ripe, split into several parts with their seeds. In that sense, the mallow fruit can be identified by the arrangement of its seeds, so the term ὁ σπερματικὸς τύπος denotes the peculiar structure the seeds take within the mallow fruit. In another fragment (48) Phainias testifies to his interest in the structure of the fruit in terms of the arrangement of its seeds. There he describes the blackberry through its subdivision of individual seeds within the fruit (if the interpretation is correct; the passage is corrupt).<sup>14</sup>

Comparison with Theophrastus' *Historia plantarum* may provide some indication of the importance that seed arrangement had in Phainias' botanical observations and from what context this fragment was taken. In an important section at the beginning of the *Historia plantarum* Theophrastus says which classification method is needed for the study of plants.<sup>15</sup> There are three criteria in capturing the structural and morphological differences of the plants in order to determine the essential nature of each individual plant. First, find out whether a plant does or does not possess a particular part—here Theophrastus is referring to leaves or fruit; second, whether a plant differs from other plants with respect to any of its qualitative or quantitative properties, i.e. shape, color, etc. Finally, one should further investigate the organization of the different plant parts both in their placement (θέσις) in relation to the other plant parts and in their arrangement (τάξις) to each other.<sup>16</sup> In this last case Theophrastus mentions the symmetrical or asymmetrical arrangement of the branches of a tree or the distance

<sup>14</sup> Φαινίας δ <ὁ> Ἐρέσιος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητὴς τὸν τῆς ἀγρίας συκαμίου καρπὸν μόρον καλεῖ, ὄντα καὶ αὐτὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ ἥδιστον ὅτε πεπανθείη. γράφει δὲ οὕτως: “τὸ μόρον τὸ βατῶδες ξηρανθείσης τῆς σφαίρας τῆς συκαμινώδους σπερματικὰς ἔχει τὰς συκαμινώδεις ἰδιαγονάς, καθάπερ ἰψάλους καὶ διαφυὰς ἔχει ψαθυράς καὶ εὐχύμους” (47 = Athen. 51e).

<sup>15</sup> αἱ δὲ τῶν μερῶν διαφοραὶ σχεδὸν ὡς τύπῳ λαβεῖν εἰσιν ἐν τρισίν, ἢ τῷ τὰ μὲν ἔχειν τὰ δὲ μή, καθάπερ φύλλα καὶ καρπὸν, ἢ τῷ μὴ ὅμοια μηδὲ ἴσα, ἢ τρίτον τῷ μὴ ὁμοίως. τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀνομοιότης ὀρίζεται σχήματι χρώματι πυκνότητι μανότητι τραχύτητι λειότητι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάθεσιν, ἔτι δὲ ὅσαι διαφοραὶ τῶν χυλῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀνισότης ὑπεροχῇ καὶ ἐλλείψει κατὰ πλῆθος ἢ μέγεθος. ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν τύπῳ κάκεῖνα πάντα καθ' ὑπεροχὴν καὶ ἐλλειψιν· τὸ γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον ὑπεροχῇ καὶ ἐλλειψις· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὁμοίως τῇ θέσει διαφέρει (Theophr., *HP* 1.1.6).

<sup>16</sup> On θέσις and τάξις as botanical terms in Theophrastus see Strömberg (1937, 32–33). Strömberg (p. 29) sees the same concepts in Aristotelian biology.



and the number of the buds.<sup>17</sup> The third criterion of his botanical classification requires observation of the position of the parts of plants, as in the seed arrangement in Phainias' fragment **49**. Another passage of the first book of Theophrastus' *Historia plantarum* deals exclusively with seeds and their distinguishing features. There the arrangement of seeds in relation to each other and in relation to the fruit is treated in detail.<sup>18</sup> In this case, several types of seed arrangement are presented: the seeds can be surrounded within a common covering, as in the pomegranate, the pear, the apple, the grape, and the fig, or they are arranged in a spike-like or grape-like structure. The context in which **49** occurred may have dealt precisely with the problem of the position and arrangement of seeds within the fruit.

### The metaphor of the cake

The classification of plant parts begins in Phainias' fragment with an analysis of the name of the mallow fruit. Phainias affirmed that the seed *typos* is called 'cake'—καλεῖται πλακοῦς—whereupon there follows the explanation of this peculiar name, which uses the word 'cake' for the fruit of a plant.<sup>19</sup> The cake image is also used by Theophrastus for the description of the morphological structure of a fruit. In the *Historia plantarum* the adjective πλακουντώδης ("cake-like") is used to indicate the fruit φλεώς.<sup>20</sup> In Phainias' fragment, however, the

<sup>17</sup> Theophr., *HP* 1.1.8.

<sup>18</sup> διαφέρουσι δὲ καὶ τῷ τὰ μὲν [*sc.* σπέρματα] ἀθρόα μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶναι, τὰ δὲ διεστῶτα καὶ στοιχηδόν, ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς κολοκύντης καὶ σικύας καὶ τῶν δένδρων, ὡς Περσικῆς μηλέας. καὶ τῶν ἀθρόων τὰ μὲν ἐνὶ τινὶ περιέχεσθαι, καθάπερ τὰ τῆς ῥόας καὶ τῆς ἀπίου καὶ μηλέας καὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ συκῆς· τὰ δὲ μετ' ἀλλήλων μὲν εἶναι, μὴ περιέχεσθαι δὲ ὑφ' ἐνός, ὥσπερ τὰ σταχυηρὰ τῶν ἐπετείων, εἰ μὴ τις θεῖη τὸν στάχυν ὡς περιέχον· οὕτω δ' ἔσται καὶ ὁ βότρυς καὶ τὰλλα τὰ βοτρυώδη καὶ ὅσα δὴ φέρει δι' εὐβοσίαν καὶ χώρας ἀρετὴν ἀθρόους τοὺς καρπούς, ὥσπερ ἐν Συρίᾳ φασὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς ἐλάας (Theophr., *HP* 1.11.4). See also *HP* 7.3.2.

<sup>19</sup> In the *Historia plantarum* Theophrastus shows interest in the name of the fruit: There are fruits that have the name of the plant, like the fig (ὁ δὲ καρπός, ὃν καλοῦσι σῦκον, *HP* 3.17.5); on the other hand, there are fruits that have a general description such as κάρυον, as in the τιθύμαλλος (ὁ δὲ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ καλεῖται κάρυον, *HP* 9.11.9); there are also fruits that have a proper name as the fruit of λιβανωτίς, the κάρχυν (καλεῖται δὲ ὁ καρπὸς κάρχυν, *HP* 9.11.10).

<sup>20</sup> καρποφορεῖν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ βούτομον καὶ τὸν φλεών. εἶναι δὲ τοῦ βουτόμου μέλανα, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει παραπλήσιον τῷ τῆς σίδης. τοῦ δὲ φλεῶ τὴν

use of the word *πλακοῦς* involves a *catachresis*. Thereby I am thinking more of a linguistic phenomenon than of a stylistic device, a phenomenon that has to do with a lack of language.<sup>21</sup> If there is no proper name for an object, a word is used that belongs to a different semantic field; the similarity between the two objects allows the shift of the word. Well-known examples are “the leg of a chair” or “the foot of a mountain.” In fragment 49 *πλακοῦς* is a word from everyday language used to describe a botanical phenomenon—the structure of mallow fruit—and Phainias’ analysis focuses on clarifying the reasons for such a peculiar name, namely, on explaining the similarity between the two objects. It remains an open question whether the *catachresis* comes from everyday language and is adopted and interpreted by Phainias, or whether he has himself created it.<sup>22</sup>

Theophrastus also refers to *catachresis* as an important process in the creation of botanical terminology. In one of the first chapters of the *Historia plantarum* he declares that parts of plants that have no name for themselves can be identified by using terms of appropriate animal parts so that words are made from animal anatomy, such as fibers, veins, flesh, and marrow, transferred to botany.<sup>23</sup> Because of their structural analogy and morphological similarity Theophrastus uses terms from the animal world to describe the plant world. He is well aware of the relevant points of the function of *catachresis* for the conceptualization of the botanical terminology, but he does not give it a theoretical justification. Instead, in Aristotle’s *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, in the discussion of “metaphor according to analogy” (κατὰ ἀναλογίαν or κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον) there is a detailed explanation of the use of *catachresis* that shows significant points of contact with Phainias’

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καλουμένην ἀνθήλην, ᾧ χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς κονίας. τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν οἶον πλακουντῶδες τι μαλακὸν ἐπίπυρρον (Theophr., *HP* 4.10. 4).

<sup>21</sup> Neumann (1998) coll. 911–15.

<sup>22</sup> On the naming of the mallow fruit, see Steier (1928). Even in modern languages the name of the mallow fruit comes from its shape, but there is another association, “The circular multi-pod mallow fruit that Phainias compares strikingly with a cake—says Steier (1928, 923)—also recalls a round cheese, wherefrom the German name of the “cheese mallow” herb, *Käsepappel*, the French *herbe à fromage*, Dutch *Kaasjeskruid* and, English—I add—*cheese-flower*.

<sup>23</sup> See: ἴνες δὲ καὶ φλέβες καθ’ αὐτὰ μὲν ἀνώνυμα τῇ δὲ ὁμοιότητι μεταλαμβάνουσι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζώοις μορίων (Theophr., *HP* 1.2.3); ἄλλα δ’ ἤδη ἕτερα τῶν ἐντός, ἃ καθ’ ἑαυτὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμα, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὁμοιότητα ἀπεικάζεται τοῖς τῶν ζώων μορίοις (*HP* 1.2.5). On these passages see Wöhrle (1985) 132.



fragment. According to Aristotle the metaphor is based on things that are similar in certain respects. So for Aristotle “to make a good metaphor” means recognizing the similarity in things.<sup>24</sup> A passage from Aristotle’s *Poetics* can be summarized as a reminder of his theory of metaphor: old age, says Aristotle, relates to life as evening to day, so for evening the poet can say, “old age of day” or, as Empedocles does, for old age “life’s evening” or “sunset of life.” The analogy is based on a relationship of similarity, on the ἀνάλογον that connects the compared things. Sometimes—Aristotle explains further—one of the terms upon which the analogy is based is missing; nevertheless an appropriate expression emerges. There is, for example, no word for the activity by which the sun radiates its light; however, since the activity of sowing seed is similar to sunlight, one says, “sowing the divine light.”<sup>25</sup>

If Phainias’ fragment is read in view of Aristotle’s teaching on metaphor, his argument becomes clearer: there is no word for the seed type of mallow; for this reason πλακοῦς is adopted since the compared things (mallow fruit and cake) are connected by their similarity—by an ἀνάλογον, as it occurs in the fragment. The analogy is based on the comb-like structure of the two objects, which Phainias calls τὸ κτενώδες.

The similarity of the content and the structural analogy of texts from very different areas raise the question of the significance of Aristotle’s theory of metaphor for botanical research. In this regard, the analysis of a section of Aristotle’s *De generatione animalium*, which André Laks offers within an overall interpretation of the Aristotelian doctrine of the metaphor, provides some light.<sup>26</sup> In the scientific

<sup>24</sup> τὸ γὰρ εὖ μεταφέρειν τὸ τὸ ὅμοιον θεωρεῖν ἐστίν (Arist., *Poet.* 22 1459a7–8).

<sup>25</sup> ἢ ὁ γῆρας πρὸς βίον, καὶ ἐσπέρα πρὸς ἡμέραν· ἐρεῖ τοίνυν τὴν ἐσπέραν γῆρας ἡμέρας ἢ ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τὸ γῆρας ἐσπέραν βίου ἢ δυσμὰς βίου. ἐνίοις δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄνομα κείμενον τῶν ἀνάλογον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἦττον ὁμοίως λεχθήσεται· οἷον τὸ τὸν καρπὸν μὲν ἀφιέναι σπείρειν, τὸ δὲ τὴν φλόγα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνώνυμον· ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως ἔχει τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ σπείρειν πρὸς τὸν καρπὸν, διὸ εἴρηται “σπείρων θεοκτίσταν φλόγα” (Arist., *Poet.* 21 1457b22–30). On *catachresis* as a basis for metaphor by analogy, see ἔτι δὲ οὐ πόρρωθεν δεῖ ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοειδῶν μεταφέρειν <ἐπὶ> τὰ ἀνώνυμα ὀνομασμένως ὃ λεχθὲν δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι συγγενές (οἷον ἐν τῷ αἰνίγματι τῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι ἄνδρ’ εἶδον πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἐπ’ ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα· ἀνώνυμον γὰρ τὸ πάθος, ἔστι δ’ ἄμφω πρόσθεσίς τις· κόλλησιν τοίνυν εἶπε τὴν τῆς σικύας προσβολήν) (Arist., *Rhet.* 3.2 1405a34–b2).

<sup>26</sup> Laks (1994).

argument that Aristotle offers in *De generatione animalium*, in which he attempts to show that gray hair is to be regarded as a result of typical heat loss in older people, Aristotle examines a metaphorical expression by which the comic playwright describes gray hair as “mature” or “mold of old age.”<sup>27</sup> As Laks shows, Aristotle conducts his analysis through linguistic and textual similarities between poetic expression and scientific theory, as required by the doctrine of metaphor in *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. What Laks calls the “valeur cognitive” of the metaphor is thus not found in the metaphorical expression *per se*, but in the analysis of Aristotle, who has the scientific content emerge from the metaphor.<sup>28</sup> In this sense, the Aristotelian doctrine of the metaphor provides a research scheme that can be used in different disciplines, such as botany, by Phainias. It is not a type of reasoning, like induction or deduction, but an explanatory exercise that operates through metaphorical expressions. In fragment 49 Phainias provides us an example of such a method of investigation. The botanist will detect the similarities between the fruit and its designation in order to bring to light the scientific value of the information contained in the *catachresis*. The result of such analysis is evident in the adjective κτενῶδες.

### τὸ κτενῶδες as a botanical term

The significance of this expression, formed from κτεῖς (“comb”) and -ώδης, is not immediately evident, and calls for more study.<sup>29</sup> One wonders what “comb-like structure” might mean with respect to the shape of a fruit. As Pierre Chantraine explains in his book *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, the forms -ώδης and -οειδής occur indifferently, so that in Aristotle the term “egg-shape” appears both as ὠώδης and as ὠοειδής. Such adjectives, which express morphological

<sup>27</sup> καὶ εὖ δὴ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις μεταφέρουσι σκώπτοντες τὰς πολιὰς καλοῦντες γήρως εὐρώτα καὶ πάχνην. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ γένει τὸ δὲ τῷ εἶδει ταῦτόν ἐστιν, ἢ μὲν πάχνη τῷ γένει (ἀτμὶς γὰρ ἄμφω), ὁ δὲ εὐρὼς τῷ εἶδει (σῆψις γὰρ ἄμφω) (Arist., GA 5.4 784b19–24).

<sup>28</sup> Laks (1994) 286, n. 16. On the scientific value that metaphor can undertake in the biological works of Aristotle, see Taub (2010) and Dalimier (2004).

<sup>29</sup> In the few botanical fragments of Phainias—as Neri (1998, 131, n. 48) emphasizes—10 adjectives with -ώδης appear: ἀκανθῶδες (43), βατῶδες (47), κτενῶδες (49), λεκιθῶδη (53), ὀμφακώδεις (46), πετασῶδη (44), συκαμινώδους and συκαμινώδεις (47), τριχῶδες (50), χεδροπώδης (53).



similarity or quality, played an important role in the development of scientific and philosophical language since they led from similarities to other areas of direct reality.<sup>30</sup> Because of their metaphorical structure, such adjectives enhance the expressiveness of the language. They occur abundantly in Theophrastus and even create a scientific terminology that is used for botanical genus classification. Through a single word they can indicate the morphological feature that characterizes a particular class of plants.<sup>31</sup> One finds, for example, τὰ σιτώδη for the cereal plant. In another fragment of Phainias an -ώδης adjective appears to indicate a botanical class that is characterized by a special form. In fragment 44 seeds are discussed that have a πέτασος shape, a shape that resembles a hat with a brim (the πέτασος), and a list is given.<sup>32</sup> In the *Historia plantarum* there are expressions that are similar to τὸ κτενώδες inasmuch as they do not rely on botanical images. There is, for example, the term θυσανώδης (“frayed”)<sup>33</sup> from θύσανος (“fringe”) or πριονώδης (“saw-like”, “toothed”)<sup>34</sup> from πρίων (“saw”).

In fragment 49 κτενώδης also, the “comb” is alluded to, and all things that have teeth like a comb. In Greek the hand, for example, is called κτείς because the fingers can comb your hair like a comb’s teeth.<sup>35</sup> Because of the radial ribs on its shell that resemble teeth, a type of mollusk is also called κτείς.<sup>36</sup> The κτενώδες is therefore a structure that alternates teeth and empty spaces so that it resembles stripes. One might think of furrows on a surface. In fragment 49 the comb-like structure of a cake therefore points to the lines that can be found on its surface and that divide the radial pieces of cake. With regard of mallow fruit, on the other hand, the comb-like structure of the seeds looks like the pieces of a cake. The stripes on the surface of

<sup>30</sup> Chantraine (1933) 430. See also de la Fuente Ruiz (2002). On the role of such adjectives in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* see op de Hipt (1972).

<sup>31</sup> Strömberg (1937, 159), op de Hipt (1972, 283) describes this phenomenon well. On τὰ σιτώδη see *HP* 8.1.1, 8.2.3.

<sup>32</sup> Φαινίας δ’ ἐν ε’ περὶ φυτῶν γράφει οὕτως: “κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ σπέρματος φύσιν ὁ καλούμενος σήψ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σταφυλίνου σπέρμα.” κὰν τῷ πρώτῳ δέ φησι: “πετασώδη τὴν τῶν σπερμάτων ἀπέιλεφε φύσιν ἔνιοι μυηφόνον” (44 = Athen. 371c).

<sup>33</sup> Theophr., *HP* 1.6.4.

<sup>34</sup> Theophr., *HP* 1.10.5.

<sup>35</sup> See as an example τὰ μὲν ποδήρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας (Aesch., Ag. 1594).

<sup>36</sup> See as an example τὸ δ’ ὄστρακον αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν οἷον κτείς κοῖλος καὶ οὐ συμφυής (Arist., *HA* 4.1 525a22).

the mallow fruit indicate the boundaries between one seed and next. With τὸ κτενῶδες Phainias creates an expression that is a botanical term for the classification of seed arrangement, as he aptly refers to the shape of aggregate fruit.

The peculiar method of Phainias in fragment **49**, which deals with the scientific classification of mallow fruit with metaphorical expressions and their images, pervades the whole fragment. While Phainias proceeds to describe a new, significant element of mallow fruit through the tip in the center of the curvature of the fruit, he introduces a new image through the metaphorical reliance of ὀμφαλῖκος on ὀμφαλός, or all objects that resemble it, such as the boss of a shield. The navel image accompanies the image of the cake in order to improve it and to define it further. When at the end of the description of the mallow fruit Phainias compares it with the shell of a sea urchin, he is again expressing in other words the same concept that is expressed through τὸ κτενῶδες. Both the mallow fruit and sea urchins are characterized by stripes on their surface, so that both recall the comb structure. In this case, the participle περιγεγραμμένοι is used to denote the characteristic striation. This expression, however, causes some problems for translation. I tend to Desrousseaux's proposal, which translates "*tout striés*."<sup>37</sup> Theophrastus' use of the adjective γραμμώδης, meaning striped, can be used in support of this interpretation.<sup>38</sup> The use of the sea urchin helps to classify the mallow fruit as an aggregate fruit; here the same method is used that is found in the analysis of πλακοῦς. Through the participle περιγεγραμμένοι Phainias points out the comb-like structure, which both the mallow fruit and a cake have. When you consider that Aristotle conceives of resemblance as a variety basis for metaphor, because it is subject to the same principle of similarity, Phainias' investigatory process is sufficiently understood.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Desrousseaux (1956) 144. Aristotle describes the sea urchin and its shell very precisely in *Historia animalium* (531a3–5). Oliver Hellmann suggested this passage to me. See also Lennox (1983).

<sup>38</sup> τὰ δὲ [*sc.* σπέρματα] στενὰ καὶ γραμμώδη, καθάπερ τοῦ κυμίνου (Theophr. *HP* 7.3.2 ).

<sup>39</sup> Arist., *Rhet.* 3.3–4 1406bff.



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## 13

# Phainias and the Naturalistic Legacy of the Peripatos

*Arnaud Zucker*

### 1. Phainias the Botanist

In the Peripatetic school, Phainias (*vel* Phantias)<sup>1</sup> did not merit a special issue in the Wehrli series, and his fragments (51) are published along with the remains of Chamaileon and de Praxiphanes (1969).<sup>2</sup> The available information on his life and work are scanty (Wehrli, Wöhrle, Zhmud [2004] 588–590) and his place in ancient philosophy seems inconspicuous.<sup>3</sup> Due to the extensive history related fragments, this part of his work (since Bodin [1915] & [1917]), largely attracts

<sup>1</sup> Both spellings are given by the Suda (Φ 73 = **1**). Although Wehrli prefers Phainias, the more common is Phantias. We find Φαινίας in *fr.* 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 27, 32, 36–47a, 48 Wehrli = **7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 33, 38, 41–52A, 53**; Φανίης in *fr.* 22b Wehrli = **28B**, and Φάνης in *fr.* 47b Wehrli = **52B**. Plutarchus and Athenaeus use alternately Phainias (Plut. 1097b; Ath. 48c, 638b) and Phantias (Plut. *Solon* 14; Plut. *Themistocles* 1, 13, 27, 29; Ath. 16e). But Athenaeus always uses the form Φαινίας in the botanical fragments.

<sup>2</sup> The first modern translation (in German) of the botanical fragments is given by Meyer (1854) 189–193, but it is limited to fragments derived from Athenaeus. Voisin (1824) offers the first edition with Latin translation and annotation.

<sup>3</sup> Zeller ([1897] II 443) handles this “minor” author in one sentence.

the attention of the critics (Mosshammer [1977]), although history was probably not his main intellectual interest (Laqueur [1938] 1566). He was also a naturalist and particularly devoted to botany, but apparently also concerned with zoology (5).<sup>4</sup> This part of his activity has only ever been studied marginally, and in most cases in the scope of studies of Theophrastus.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, the name of Phainias, called *physicus/φυσικός* (41, 54) is, like Straton (*fr* 1 Sharples), often connected to that of Theophrastus,<sup>6</sup> especially in the botanical “fragments”.<sup>7</sup> They are both from Lesbos and this common origin probably contributed to them being linked by tradition, and doubtlessly in the Lyceum, as suggested also by a *Letter to Phainias* attributed to Theophrastus (4 & 5).<sup>8</sup> Together with Eudemus and Theophrastus, Phainias appears to have been an assiduous follower of Aristotle, writing in his manner treatises—or new commented editions—of *Categories*, *Interpretation*, *Analytics* (11). This convergence does not prove that Phainias was loyal to the method and the assertions of Aristotle but suggests that he was a polygraph philosopher,<sup>9</sup> as were almost all of the Aristotelian pupils.

If we dismiss the unlikely hypothesis that a Theophrastean ghost was renamed Phainias, questions arise concerning the nature, the originality and even the justification for *another* contemporary botanical work, besides the Theophrastean one, in the Peripatetic school. The scholars of the Lyceum undoubtedly had a deep knowledge of the botanical problems addressed by Aristotle and pursued after Theophrastus by some of his disciples, such as Lynceus of Samos, brother

<sup>4</sup> We find two mentions of an animal in the fragments (ἴουλος/ὄνος, 5 et σήψ, 44), probably as parasites or botanical remedies and not in the context of a zoological inquiry. On the possible interest of Phainias for zoology, see Hellmann (2006) 330.

<sup>5</sup> Laqueur himself only mentions briefly and elusively the treatise *On Plants* ([1938] 1565) and does not comment any botanical fragment.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo (13.2.4) also unites the two philosophers: ἐξ Ἑρέσου δ' ἦσαν Θεόφραστος τε καὶ Φανίας οἱ ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων φιλόσοφοι, Ἀριστοτέλους γνώριμοι (2); they are conjointly cited in 6, 7, 11.

<sup>7</sup> See 42 [Ath. 61f sq.]; 43 [Ath. 70d]; 44 extended [Ath. 371c]; 46 extended [Ath. 31e sq.]; 48 extended [Ath. 54f]; 50 extended [Ath. 64d sq.].

<sup>8</sup> On the letter and the general relation between them see Sollenberger, this volume, p. 135, and Fortenbaugh, this volume, p. 112–115.

<sup>9</sup> See also 14, 15, 36, 37. He is termed φιλόσοφος Περιπατητικός (Suda Φ 73 = 1) or Περιπατητικός (4, 37, 38).



of the historian Douris.<sup>10</sup> But Phainias is the only Peripatetic from the Athenian period to whom a *Περὶ Φυτῶν* (*vel* Φυτικά) is ascribed. The chronology is not accurate enough to clearly establish who is older, nor the order of appearance of the homonymous treatises of the two Eresians.<sup>11</sup> If we rely on the date put forward by the *Suda* (Φ 73, s.v. Φανίας), giving 336–333 as the acme of Phainias (ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ραΐ ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ μετέπειτα), he would be exactly the same age as Theophrastus, born in 372 (Meyer [1854] 189).<sup>12</sup> His date of birth, as estimated by the modern critic, is 376–373 (Wehrli, Wöhrle, Zhmud [2004] 588; Sollenberger, this volume, p. 134), 375 (Gottschalk [2007] 901) or ca. 365 BC (Engels, this volume, p. 290 n. 3).<sup>13</sup> In all cases, the complicity of the two scholars, brought together by their common origin and interests, as supported by the existence of the *Letter to Phainias*,<sup>14</sup> prevents us from arguing that the two works could have been elaborated separately, in mutual ignorance.<sup>15</sup>

The “fragment” **50** (which does not include any textual quotation of Phainias’ work), even suggests a close similarity of the content (τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Φαινίας),<sup>16</sup> if not of the text itself of the two botanists. The fact that Theophrastus never mentions Phainias in *HP* and

<sup>10</sup> See Ath. 2.62c; as Phainias (**42**), he seemed interested in truffles (Ath. 4.128a, 8.337d) and known as a gastronome (see Ath. 1.4e and 3.75e).

<sup>11</sup> Two other disciples of Aristotle come from Lesbos: Praxiphanes and Echekratides (Strabo 13.2.4; Callimachus *fr.* 1 and schol.; Steph. Byz. s. v. Μήθυμνα).

<sup>12</sup> The age difference must not have been significant, and even if Phainias was the older of the two, one could not conclude that his works are earlier (caution is necessary concerning this question, and also regarding the relationship between Aristotle and Theophrastus, see Sharples [1992] 273).

<sup>13</sup> Phainias may have been in Mitylene in 345 (Fortenbaugh, this volume p. 103–104 with n. 8), but the meaning of the *acme* is unclear: between 25 and 55 years (!) for Plato (*Resp.* 5, 460D–461A): at 49 years for the mind and between 30 and 35 for the body, according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1390a9–11). The general time framework of the life of Phainias is uncertain and he could have died between 317 and 307 (according to Engels [1998] 290), in 300 (according to Gottschalk [2007] 902), or after 300 (according to Fortenbaugh, this volume p. 113).

<sup>14</sup> This epistle is attested by the unconnected mentions of Diogenes Laertes (5.37: ἡ πρὸς Φανίαν τὸν περιπατητικὸν ἐπιστολή) and a scholion to Apollonius of Rhodes, *ad* 1.972.

<sup>15</sup> Even if we accept the blur assertion of Gottschalk (1998) 290 writing that between them “there is no evidence of any major collaboration.” See Wehrli, Wöhrle, Zhmud (2004) 589.

<sup>16</sup> See also **43**: Φαινίας [...] καλεῖ [...] ὥς καὶ Θεόφραστος.

*CP* cannot be invoked to assert that the *Περὶ φυτῶν* of the latter is more recent than the other treatise. Nevertheless, we can assume that the Theophrastean work influenced his fellow-citizen, not only by its magnitude, but also because of the position of Theophrastus as scholar which gave him a leading role.<sup>17</sup> If Phainias was indeed younger than Theophrastus, the hypothesis of a formal revision of the botanical data seems even more plausible.

The paucity of the *reliquia* is not conducive to formulating a clear opinion on the originality of Phainias' botanical research, compared to that of Theophrastus, as it is possible to do for Theophrastus in relation to Aristotle (see Sharples [1992] 267–271). Unfortunately, we do not dispose of any biographical or psychological testimony, from which we could infer how specific or conventional his naturalistic approach might have been. We can however consider the fragments of Phainias from that perspective, and formulate different hypotheses regarding the quasi-disappearance of the work of Phainias:

- Phainias *supplements*, on some points, the botanical corpus of Theophrastus
- Phainias offers a *revision* of the botanical knowledge or the method of presentation
- Phainias writes an original opus sharing Theophrastean data but giving his original work a different *orientation*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The order in which the two authors are cited in the text is not constant, but it is largely in favor of Theophrastus, named first by the older authors (**2, 6, 7**; *contra* **11**). We tend to think that Theophrastus had literary priority; cf. Gottschalk (1973) 98 (*ad* Schol. Ambros. L 93 *in* Arist. *de Interpret.* 17b16, Waitz *Organon* I 40): “Phainias is here used as an example by Theophrastus, as Coriscus often was by Aristotle. This is slight evidence that Phainias attended Theophrastus' lectures on logic, presumably at Athens.”

<sup>18</sup> The first hypothesis seems weaker and assumes that Theophrastus was anterior, while the two others are unrelated to the question of priority. The work of second and third generations of the Lyceum seems to be extensions, identified by special titles (as the old lists show, with various titles for the zoological treatises of the Peripatetics) rather than proper revisions of earlier works. The treatises *Categories*, *on Interpretations* and *Analytics*, allegedly written by Eudemus, Theophrastus and Phainias, according to Philoponus (Phainias **11**), if they did exist, are probably not paraphrases and comments, but new considerations on objects or problems raised by Aristotle. A strictly editorial concurrence seems to be far-fetched, even though slight differences could have motivated new editions.



## 2. Analysis of the Fragments

### 2.1 Problematic transmission of the text

The tradition of the botanical work of Phainias has, moreover, a peculiarity which must be taken into consideration when analysing the fragments: with the exception of two references in Pliny (**41** & **54**), where the author is called *physicus* in the *argumentum* of book XXI, and on the medicinal uses of the nettle (book 22.35), Athenaeus is the only author to mention the activity of Phainias in the field of botany.<sup>19</sup> This exclusivity will lead us, at a later stage, to consider more generally the Athenaeian treatment of traditional botanical data.

The botanical fragments of Phainias, whose style Casaubon (1600) labeled as unintelligible in his *Animadversiones*,<sup>20</sup> deserve a more careful and complete edition than that of Wehrli.<sup>21</sup> For example, the indexing by Wehrli of *fr.* 29 = **35**, which deals with caprification (technical handle of figtree), among historical fragments is symptomatic of the idea that Phainias is mainly a historian. But this new edition will probably not resolve all the difficulties of the text concerning

<sup>19</sup> The only exception is **55**, a scholion on the use of a term for “cutting” the grapevine, or vine leaves (see Hesychius O 313: <οἰναρίζειν>· φυλλολογεῖν. ἀμπέλους ἐργάζεσθαι); **52B** (*Etymologicum Magnum*) recalls a passage from Athenaeus (**52A**). It is noteworthy that Strato, on the contrary, is never quoted by Athenaeus, even on naturalist questions (see the fragments on psychology, physiology and zoology, *fr.* 55–75 Sharples).

<sup>20</sup> This is a regular subject of criticism from Lefebvre de Villebrune (1789–1791) in the notes of his own translation (cf. Desrousseaux [1956] L).

<sup>21</sup> Let us mention, for example (*ad fr.* 37 Wehrli = **42**) Arrian, *FGrHist* 156 *fr.* 24: Eust. *ad Il.* 15.302 p. 1017, 15: τῆς δὲ περιττοσυλλάβου κλίσεως παρὰ τοῖς πλείοσιν, ὥς καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἱστοροῦντι ὅτι μυκήτων οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἵχνος τῆς σπερματικῆς κορυφήσεως οὐδὲ σπερματώσεως, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄλλων τινῶν. ἔστι γὰρ κατὰ τὸν μύκητα καὶ τὸ ὕδρον τὸ καὶ γεράνειον κατὰ τινας καὶ ἡ ἔλιξ καὶ ἡ πτέρις δέ, ἣν ἔνιοι βλάχνον καλοῦσιν, ὥς καὶ Ἀρριανὸς δηλοῖ ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς; and (*ad fr.* 42 Wehrli = **47**) Eustathius, *ad Il.* 3.167: Ἐνθα ὅρα ὅτι τε τὸ δρυμὰ μεταπλασμὸν ἔπαθε γένους, ὥς καὶ τὸ κέλευθον καὶ τὸ ζυγὸν καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον καὶ τὸ κουλεόν, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτὸν δρυμὸν καὶ ὕλην εἶπεῖν, ὥς καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων εἴρηται, [καὶ ὅτι ὥς τὸ δρυμὸν καὶ ὁ δρυμὸς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, οὕτω διγενὲς καὶ τὸ μόρον, καὶ ἀρσενικὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ “πρῶτον μὲν ὅψει λευκὸν ἀνθοῦντα στάχυν, ἔπειτα φοινίζαντα στρογγύλον μόρον,” ὃ δηλοῖ συκαμίνου καρπὸν. τοῦ δὲ οὐδετέρου χρήσις ἐν τῷ “τὰ δὲ συκάμινα, ἃ καὶ μόρα λέγεται,” καὶ “τὸ μόρον τὸ βατῶδες ξηρανθείσης τῆς σφαίρας τῆς συκαμινώδους,” καὶ ἐξῆς.

corrupt (as *fr.* 42 Wehrli = **47**), obscure (as *fr.* 39 Wehrli = **44**),<sup>22</sup> or difficult to delineate fragments (*fr.* 49, 50 Wehrli = **54**, **55**).<sup>23</sup> In the two Plinian fragments, Phainias (*sic*) provides medical indications on plants. But it is possible that the *fr.* 49 Wehrli = **54** on the nettle extends beyond the limits set by Wehrli, until the end of the paragraph<sup>24</sup>: “The juice of the nettle is also used: applied to the forehead, it arrests bleeding of the nose, taken in drink it acts as a diuretic and breaks calculi in the bladder, and, used as a gargle, it braces the uvula when relaxed. Nettle-seed should be gathered at harvest-time: that of Alexandria is the most highly esteemed. For all these different purposes the milder and more tender plants are the best, the wild nettle in particular: the latter, taken in wine, has the additional property of removing leprous spots on the face. When animals refuse to couple, it is recommended to rub the sexual organs with nettles.”

<sup>22</sup> The first part is quite obscure; it contains the ambiguous word *seps*, which certainly refers to an animal (Bodson [2009] 230–232), and could be a caterpillar, rather than a viper, a lizard or a millipede (Bodson 2008). The connexion of the *seps* and the *staphylinos* (the parsnip) might be explained by the fact that the *staphylinos* is an antidote against reptiles (Nicander, *Ther.* 843; cf. Bodson [2009] 232); but one could also call attention to the peculiar hairy aspect of the seed (building a kind of nest) in some Umbelliferae such as the parsnip or the carrot, which are reminiscent of the pine processionary moth (= *seps*); another shared aspect with these moths is the highly stinging effect of some parsnips such as *Pastinaca sativa*. See the note of Lefebvre de Villebrune for Ath. 371c (where he suggests δήγματος instead of σπέρματος): “Casaubon revolts here against his extreme flippancy. He rebukes Phainias for speaking obscurely, but perhaps he is not learned enough to understand him, for Phainias is very clear. Casaubon should have opened Dioscorides, book 3, ch. 59 [3.52 Wellmann], he would have seen that the parsnip is recommended for venomous reptile bites.”

<sup>23</sup> The *fr.* 50 Wehrli = part of **55** had to be extended to the whole scholion to Theocritus: Φανίας δέ φησιν οἴναρίζειν τὸ περιαιρεῖν τῶν οἰνάρων καὶ τρυγᾶν· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ οἴναρίζειν τὰς ἀμπέλους, ἐπειδὴν πεπαίνωσιν οἱ βότρυες.

<sup>24</sup> It is clearly the opinion of Wellmann (1924) 139–140, who points out the parallels between the Phainias text and Sextius Niger and Dioscorides. The Plinian text continues as follows (*HN* 22.36): *expressus inlitus fronti sanguinem narium sistit, potus urinam ciet, calculos rumpit, uvam gargarizatu<s> reprimit. semen colligi messibus oportet. Alexandrinum maxime laudatur. ad omnia haec et mitiores quidem teneraeque efficaces, sed praecipue silvestris illa, et hoc amplius lepras e facie tollit in vino pota. si quadripes fetus non admittat, urtica naturam fricandam monstrant.*



## 2.2 Language of Phainias

Phainias' dialect is Attic<sup>25</sup> and his style, if the Athenaeus excerpts are to be literally attributed to him, is descriptive and technical. The fragments contain five hapax (μυηφόνον: **44**; πλακουντικός: **49**; χεδροπώδης, ἐτνηρός, ἐνσπέρματος: **53**), which are clearly neologisms, and some very rare words: κορύνησις (**42**; see Thphr. *HP* 3.5.1 & Hesychius κ 3707), πετασώδης (**44**; see Dsc. 4.107.1 = Orib. 12 Π 13), συκαμινώδης (**47**; Thphr. *HP* 3.7.4). These were undoubtedly conserved from the original. Phainias also shows a pronounced taste for the suffix -ώδης: πετασώδης (**44**); συκαμινώδης (**47**), κτενώδης (**49**), λεκιθώδης (**53**; see Thphr. *HP* 4.8.11 and Galen, *Nat. fac.* 2.135), χεδροπώδης (**53**). This preference, more salient in Phainias' fragments than in those of Theophrastus, is a general trend in Aristotelian and Peripatetic terminology,<sup>26</sup> and we have no reason to doubt their original presence in the text of Phainias.<sup>27</sup> These lexical hallmarks, along with the use of comparisons (καθάπερ: **47**, **49**, **53**; ἐμφορής, ὅμοιον: **49**) are evidence of the exactness of the Athenaeus quotations.

<sup>25</sup> The word μόρον for the fruit of the bramble (**47**) is labelled as Alexandrian by Athenaeus (Ath. 2.51 b: "Only the Alexandrians call *mora* the fruit the other Greeks generally call *sycamines*"); but for Galen (Galen, *Aliment. fac.* 6.584: Περὶ συκαμίνων, ἃ δὲ καὶ μόρα καλοῦσιν) the vocable is Attic. The name μαλάχη (**49**) for the mallow is also considered as Attic by Athenaeus (Ath. 2.58d (before **49**): Μαλάχαι. [...] τοῦτο Ἀττικόν. ἐγὼ δέ, φησὶν, ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις εὑρον τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους Μίνωος διὰ τοῦ <ο> γεγραμμένον). Surprisingly a lexicographical fragment (*Fragmentum Lexici Graeci*, e cod. Paris. gr. 3027 in: Hermann, G. (ed.), *De emendanda ratione Graecae grammaticae*, Leipzig, Fleischer, 1801), while differing from the Athenaeus comment, presents three successive entries corresponding precisely to the fragments **47–48–49** of Phainias [51e–58d]: (26) Τὰ συκάμιννα Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι μόρα ὀνομάζουσιν. (27) Μαλάχη κοινόν. μολόχη Ἀττικόν. (28) Τραγήματα λέγονται τὰ εὐτελὴ βρώσιμα, οἷον ἐρέβινθοι, κύαμοι, ἰσχάδες, φάσηλοι, μῆλα, μύρτα, φηγοί, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα (our emphasis).

<sup>26</sup> See Op de Hipt (1962) and Fuente Ruiz (2002).

<sup>27</sup> Athenaeus also strictly preserves the rare words, hapax or *glossai*, from Theophrastus: θραύπαλος (blackthorn, *Prunus spinosa*; Ath. 50a = Thphr. *HP* 3.6.4); κράταιγος and κραταιγών (wild service tree, *Sorbus torminalis*; Ath. 50c = Thphr. *HP* 3.15.6), κηριῶδες (Ath. 50b = Thphr. *HP* 3.13.3 ; cf. 3.13.5), πλατύκαυλος (Ath. 69a = Thphr. *HP* 7.4.5) σκολυμῶδης (Ath. 69a = Thphr. *HP* 7.4.5 ; cf. 9.12.2), παππώδης (Ath. 70d–e = Thphr. *HP* 6.4.10 ; cf. 6.6.6), λειόφλοια (Ath. 61f = *HP* 1.5.2 ; cf. *HP* 1.8.1, 9.4.2, 9.4.3; cf. Basil, *Hex* 5.7), ἀπαράβλαστος (Ath. 69a = Thphr. *HP* 7.4.5; see also *HP* 1.5.1, 7.8.2, ...).

### 2.3 Table of the “epistemons” in Phainias

As an experiment, we propose a typology of plant-science data, distinguishing five levels of information that seem to coexist in ancient botany: plant technology (horticulture and functional uses of plants), cooking (food preparation and consumption), medicine or phyto-pharmacognosy (use of medicinal plants, toxicological knowledge and therapeutic preparations), botany (anatomy, physiology, systematics, ecology and natural properties), and philology (terminology, synonyms, dialectal forms). Each unit of knowledge (called *epistemon*), present in the fifteen Phainias’ fragments, can be classified according to this typology. The precise code adopted for the *epistemonical* data is as follows:

- B (botany): B1: anatomical description, B2: classification and identification; B3: family and list; B4 generation and growth; B5: biotope; B6: plant disease; B7: special property (of the living plant)
- T (plant technology): T1: maintenance; T2: selection and transplantation; T3: technical use
- C (cooking); C1: acquisition; C2: preparation; C3: taste
- M (medicine): M1: acquisition; M2: preparation; M3: therapeutic virtue; M4: exceptional virtue (of the prepared plant)
- P (philology): P1: name; P2: classification and identification; P3: family and list; P4: synonyms, dialectal forms, etc.

A further determination is the presence of a particular data (i) [= *idion*] marked by a toponym, an ethnonym or a specific indication.

In the proposed model, we find that the themes in sections C and M are similar. This overlap is congruent with the solidarity of the two domains in the general literature, and even the medical tradition, but it does not mean that they are interchangeable. Moreover, the themes B2 and B3 are identical to P2 and P3, but again, the outlook is epistemologically different because the focus is, in the first case, the natural plant, and in the second the onomastic; when a botanical lexeme is introduced by *καλεῖν* or *ὀνομάζειν*, the prospect is considered as ‘philological’.



Table of the epistemonical matters<sup>28</sup>

	Botany	Phytotechny	Cooking	Medicine	Philology
41				<i>M</i>	
42	B4.B3				P1
43					P1.P2
44	B1(?).B4.B3				P1
45		T1 (i)	C3		
46			C2.C3		P1
47	B1		C3		P1
48			C2		P2.P3
49	B1				P1
50	B1		[C2.C3 (i)]		
51			C2.C3		
52	B1				
53	B2.B3	T3	C2		
54				<i>M2.M3</i>	
55					<i>P1</i>
	7	2	7	2	8

2.3 Commentary of the fragments

There is some consistency in the type of information transmitted by Athenaeus as far as the botanical, culinary and philological aspects are concerned. No medicinal use of plants is reported in the fragments nor any technical manipulation, with the exception of a local custom of

<sup>28</sup> The three botanical fragments which do not come from Athenaeus are in italic type.

softening wine by spreading cucumber juice on the grapevine (45); we must also mention the information pertaining to the culture of forage crops for livestock (53). If the epistemonical profile corresponds to the work of Phainias, this suggests a specialization of his discourse on issues related to the consumption of plants. It appears in fact that Phainias' fragments deal exclusively with edible plants—and maybe even only with cultivated plants (see Siede, this volume p. 362–363). Thus, the phytonyms listed in 44 are all edible.<sup>29</sup> The only documented tree is a fruit tree (52A) and only two non-edible plants are incidentally mentioned (in 42): the common bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and the ivy (*Hedera helix*). It is worth mentioning that these two plants have medicinal<sup>30</sup> and sumptuary interest which could justify their presence in a treatise on useful plants, but another argument may be put forward. Athenaeus only mentions the book from which he cites Phainias' text four times (42–44).<sup>31</sup> Yet it appears that the excerpts attributed to book one focus on plant growth (*epistemon* B4) unlike the others (see σπερματώσεως: 42; σπερμάτων: 44).<sup>32</sup>

On the basis of the differentiated *epistemons* and taking account of the book number mentions, we have reasons to believe that the treatise of Phainias, in at least five books (Voisin [1824] 12), dealt mainly with plants in a gastronomic context, and perhaps only with edible or cultivated plants. The first book may have encompassed rather wider aspects and played, in a traditional Peripatetic way (like in Aristotle, *PA* 1, *HA* 1, or Thphr. *HP* 1), the role of a general and methodological introduction.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, it would have been, in accordance with the opinion of Wehrli,<sup>34</sup> a more “practical” treatise than that of Theophrastus. Phainias seems more preoccupied with gastronomic issues

<sup>29</sup> Including the parsnip or the cultivated carrot, although Theophrastus, while using the word δαῦκος (*HP* 9.15.5, 9.15.8 and 9.20.2) and not σταφύλινοξ like Phainias, does not mention the culture of the carrot (Sharples [1995] 153).

<sup>30</sup> The common bracken is a powerful remedy against *taenias* (Thphr. *HP* 9.20.5).

<sup>31</sup> Wehrli relies on this precision in classifying the botanical fragments, since he mentions them at the beginning of the list of fragments documented by Athenaeus.

<sup>32</sup> The beginning of the 44 refers to book 5 and contains the word σπέρμα, but the text is obscure (see note below) and seems rather to treat the appearance of the seed.

<sup>33</sup> The two non-edible plants (42) are explicitly attributed to book one.

<sup>34</sup> “Die Fragmente erwecken den Eindruck, Ph. gehe (vielleicht im Anschluss an landwirtschaftliche Autoren) häufiger von praktischen Gesichtspunkten aus als Theophrast,” Wehrli (1969) 40. See White, this volume p. 185.



than Theophrastus: he expounds on the wine of Mendes (45),<sup>35</sup> the preparation of spiced wine called *anthosmias* (46),<sup>36</sup> the consumption of certain seeds as treats (τράγημα: 48),<sup>37</sup> and emphasizes the flavour of certain products (46–47), and the preparations that render them edible (50–51). Medical data are also lacking in the Athenaeon excerpts but this is precisely the kind of information Pliny looks for and points out in Phainias (54). If medical data are relatively scarce in Theophrastus, they could have been an important issue in the book of Phainias. The same Plinian fragment (54) suggests, moreover, a monographic organisation of the botanical information in Phainias' book.

Athenaeus points out a convergence between Phainias and Theophrastus, which is obvious in *Deipn.* 2.64d (50), where he quotes two sentences of Theophrastus (*HP* 7.3.8), along with these comments: τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Φαινίας... ὥς καὶ Φαινίας φησί. If we consider the immediate context of the fragments<sup>38</sup> the name of Theophrastus appears in half the cases (6/12),<sup>39</sup> and in one third of cases (4/12) two Theophrastean quotations exactly frame the fragment of Phainias (42, 43, 46, 50). The other associated names are physicians: Nicander (44 [bis], 47, 50), Diphilos (42, 49) and Diokles (44, 51).<sup>40</sup> In the terminology and the phytonyms there is a partial overlap.<sup>41</sup> But one can also find parallels with the lists of other authors, doctors and philosophers,<sup>42</sup> and Phainias' terminology also differs from that of

<sup>35</sup> On this famous vine, see Ath. 4.129d et 11.466c.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *CP* 3.15.1 for some indications on the vine (cf. Thphr. *De odoribus* 9–11 and 67). Wehrli emphasizes the lack of corresponding information in Theophrastus for the *fr.* 44, 46 and 49 Wehrli = 49, 51 and 54.

<sup>37</sup> This word only appears once in the botanical work of Theophrastus (*HP* 4.8.12).

<sup>38</sup> We only consider references to first or second authors before or after the fragment assigned to Phainias, provided that it treats the same subject in the book of Athenaeus.

<sup>39</sup> In the context of 48, a quotation from Sophilus intervenes between Theophrastus and Phainias, but in the other cases (42, 43, 44, 46, 50) the two names follow each other.

<sup>40</sup> Another author appears twice in the immediate context: Epicharmus (43, 48).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. 53: three items of χεδροπώδη (κύαμος, πισός, ὄροβος, ἀφάκη, φακός) given by Phainias are listed as χεδροπά by Theophrastus (*HP* 8.1.4: φακός, ἀφάκη, πισός).

<sup>42</sup> Speusippus in the *Similar things* (Ath. 2.68d = *fr.* 7 Tarán) uses the same phytonyms as Phainias (51: σικύα, πέπων): Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὸν πέπων καλεῖ σικύαν· Διοκλῆς δὲ πέπων ὀνομάσας οὐκ ἔτι καλεῖ σικύαν· καὶ ὁ Σπεύσιππος δὲ σικύαν εἰπὼν πέπων οὐκ ὀνομάζει.

Theophrastus.<sup>43</sup> As a matter of fact, the difference between the two authors seems to be wider than it first seemed and than the critics suggest. If both authors naturally sometimes deal with the same plants<sup>44</sup> and occasionally converge on certain descriptions, there is no evidence that, as assumed Wehrli (1969) 40, “die Schrift [...] ordnete das Pflanzenreich systematisch wie Theophrasts *Historia plantarum*,” and no reason to agree with Wellmann (1924) 139 n. 1, who considered the work of Phainias earlier than the *HP* of Theophrastus, that “Die Bruchstücke lehren, daß Theophrast ihm vielerlei verdankt.”

Scrutinizing Phainias’ fragments, the most plausible of the three above-mentioned assumptions appears to be the latter. Phainias’ work seems to adopt a less theoretical and more pragmatic approach than that of Theophrastus. This hypothesis is largely speculative, because the original work is reduced to flimsy scraps, and in order to back it up it is thus necessary to consider more precisely the role played by Athenaeus in the selection, the shaping or even the verbal content of the Phainias fragments.

### 3. The Hypothesis of an Athenaeian Remodelling

#### 3.1. The Athenaeian filter

It is indeed impossible to evaluate the content of a fragmentary work only through an internal analysis of the excerpts, and it is necessary to take account of the *modus excerpendi* of the excerptor, and admit that this strongly influences the content, the meaning and the reception of the text. The epistemological profile identified for the Phainias fragments (a combination of scholarly botany, cooking and philology) is so consistent with the perspective of the *Deipnosophists* and the knowledge of the guests that one can legitimately wonder if Athenaeus did not adapt the data of Phainias to conform with the context and the issues of the *symposion*.

<sup>43</sup> In addition to the *hapax* of Phainias mentioned above, note that Theophrastus employs δαῦκος (*HP* 9.15.5, 9.15.8 and 9.20.2) and not σταφύλινος; χεδροπά and not χεδροπώδη; συκάμινος and never μόρον; etc.

<sup>44</sup> On the reproduction of the truffle (42) and differences between the two authors, see Winter (1951) 63; cf. on Theophrastus and truffle Thphr. *fr.* 400B FHS&G, and Sharples (1995) 147–149 et 162–165.



The bias introduced by Athenaeus, a bulimic librarian and exuberant philologist, seems obvious. The literature is cut up and recycled, put through a number of filters, but also channeled into a project entirely motivated by scholarly curiosity (Jacob [2004]). The specialists of Athenaeus are not unanimous on the reliability of the author, but Athenaeus seems generally quite faithful to his sources (Louyest [2009] 17), although he cuts texts and has more respect for philology than the original context. But decontextualization, especially for scientific work, which is less protected by the literary form, can have devastating effects. Yet Athenaeus sometimes collects citations without trying to understand them, or even makes fun of their meaning (Ambaglio [1990]).

### 3.2. Theophrastus as a test

Is Athenaeus generally faithful to his sources? The treatment by Athenaeus (in *Deipnosophists*) of the Theophrastean πραγματεία, consisting essentially in *HP*, offers evidence of his handling of Phainias. It would undoubtedly be useful and appropriate to systematically study in this way authors with their sources, and extend to the entire *Deipnosophists* the typological (epistemonical) analysis of Theophrastus' fragments. The first table provides a comparison of the epistemonical orientation of the data. Books 1 and 2 of *Deipnosophists* offer 28 Theophrastean extracts (4 in Book 1 and 24 in Book 2).<sup>45</sup> "Citational blocks" are introduced in the name of Theophrastus and end before the *name* of another source; in these blocks it is possible to distinguish different units marked by indications of transition, *e.g.* the mention of another book or Theophrastean treatise (Ath. 2.41f–42b, 2.55e), or expressions such as καὶ πάλιν (Ath. 2.50c, 62a) or φησὶ δὲ καὶ ὅτι (Ath. 2.61e). We have distinguished these units in the table, although they do not always correspond to unique and continuous sequences in the original text.<sup>46</sup> The naturalist extracts preceded by an asterisk do not focus on botany but on water, milk or snails.

<sup>45</sup> We exclude from this account Ath. 22c (book 1), where Theophrastus is quoted on dance, and Ath. 44c (Book 2), where Athenaeus refers to Aristotle (*fr.* 633 Rose) or Theophrastus, on the case of a man who ate only milk.

<sup>46</sup> In Ath. 42 a–b, only the first part of the extract corresponds to *HP* 9.18.10, the last part corresponds to the very long *fr.* 214A FHS&G, cf. also *CP* 2.6.4; see also Ath. 2.69a–b, where two extracts taken from different chapters follow each other

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Athenaios		Botany	Phyto- techny	Cook- ing	Medi- cine	Philo- logy
Ath.18d	HP 9.18.9				[M4]	
Ath. 31e	HP 9.18.10	B7 (i)			M4. M3 (i)	
Ath. 32a	de odor. 51			C3. C2 (i)		
Ath. 34e	HP 4.16.6	B7				
*Ath. 41e	fr. 214A FHS&G	B7 (i)			M3 (i)	
*id (41f–42b)	HP 9.18.10 fr. 214A FHS&G	B7 (i)			M3 (i)	
Ath. 50a	HP 3.6.4					P1
Ath. 50b–d	HP 3.13.1–3	B1				
id	HP 3.15.6	B1.B4		C3		P4
Ath. 50f	HP 3.16.4					P1
Ath. 54f	HP 8.5.1					P1
Ath. 55e–f	CP 4.2.2	B4				
id	CP 3.22.3	B6				
Ath. 56f	HP. 7.4.2	B3.B1		C3		P1.P3 P4
Ath. 57b	HP 3.9.5					P1
Ath. 58f	HP 7.4.6	B2		C3		
Ath. 61e	fr. 399 FHS&G	B4.B1				P1
id	HP 4.7.2	B4 (i).B7				
Ath. 61f	HP 1.6.5					P2.P3
Ath. 62a–c	HP 1.6.9	[B4]				P4
id	fr. 400A FHS&G	B4.B7 B4 (i)		C3		P4 (i)

without indication of a break by Athenaeus.



Athenaios		Botany	Phyto- techny	Cook- ing	Medi- cine	Philo- logy
*Ath. 63c	<i>fr.</i> 366 FHS&G					
Ath. 64d	<i>HP</i> 7.13.8			C3 (i)		
Ath. 64d	<i>HP</i> 7.13.8	B1.B5. B4	T3			
Ath. 64d	<i>HP</i> 7.13.8	B4 (i)				
Ath. 66e	<i>HP</i> 9.20.1	B2.B1			M3	
Ath. 66f	<i>fr.</i> 347A FHS&G				M2	
Ath. 69a–b	<i>HP.</i> 7.4.5	B2.B1	T3			
<i>id</i>	<i>HP</i> 7.2.4			C2.C3		
Ath. 70a	<i>HP</i> 7.1.2					P1.P3
Ath. 70d	<i>HP</i> 3.18.4	B2.B1				
Ath. 70d	<i>HP</i> 6.4.10	B5 (i).B1		C2.C3		P1
Ath. 71c	<i>HP</i> 2.6.2	B4	T1			
		<b>21</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>

The conservation of the Theophrastean text, despite some differences of opinion on its state of preservation,<sup>47</sup> allows a comparison and evaluation of the difference between the extracts present in the Athenaeian compilation and the genuine data in the original source.<sup>48</sup> The extracts are rarely perfectly literal quotations from Theophrastus.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> For an overview of the issue, after Regenbogen (1940) 1435–67, see Sharples (1995) 128–130.

<sup>48</sup> This comparison is not possible for the fragments; note, concerning the extract on the truffle (*HP* 1.6.9), in which Sharples and Minter (1983) pointed out significant inaccuracies by Athenaeus (2.62a), that an extract of Apollonius (Thphr. *fr.* 400B FHS&G = 2b Amigues) also seems to arise from the text, but his insight is different (the truffles harden in the thunder; cf. Ath. 2.61f on the fungi that petrify due to the action of the rays).

<sup>49</sup> Sharples (1995) 161 proposes to distinguish in the extracts: “accurate reports, inaccurate reports, those that report the extant *HP* accurately but add further information without making it clear whether or not it is being claimed as Theophrastean.”

Indeed, a number of discrepancies appear, due to textual problems<sup>50</sup> or to the epitomization process,<sup>51</sup> including huge blunders, like, for example, classifying mushrooms, in the name of Theophrastus (see *HP* 1.5.2), among plants with smooth bark (λειόφλοια: *Ath.* 2.61f).

But the literalness (a) is only one of the aspects—one might call ‘literary’—, of the loyalty of the excerptor to the source. We may indeed differentiate three kinds of loyalty from an excerptor: the philological (*vs* rewriting), the logical (*vs* compacting), and the epistemonical (*vs* distorting and decontextualizing). The second point of view, called ‘logical’, which also concerns the verbal statement, involves the full restitution of the passage of the source (b). This is a key aspect, and the confrontation between the Athenaeian excerpts and the text of Theophrastus may shed light on the distortion imposed on the work of Phaenias by Athenaeus. A third, more delicate criterion, that we can qualify as ‘epistemological’, concerns the direction and intent of the statement (c). The distinction between the categories of data used in the tables partly expresses the discrepancies on this point between the source and the hypertext. Thus Athenaeus often transforms the status of a technical lexeme, from attribute or tool for the botanical description in Theophrastus, into the object of the discourse itself, by a philological promotion (and distortion). Another example is the extract *Ath.* 1.18d, where Athenaeus presents, through Theophrastus, the *male record* for consecutive sexual intercourse (70 !), although this detail derives from a deformed *anecdote about an individual* used to illustrate the virtues of common bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) as a sexual stimulant on men and women (*HP* 9.18.9).

Before returning to the crucial criterion of fidelity, the second table, below, lists the *epistemons* present in the text of Theophrastus, considering as only the immediate paragraph context<sup>52</sup> from which the

<sup>50</sup> This is true for *fr.* 399 FHS&G: it seems that the text lends a stem and a root to the fungus, contrary to the opinion of Theophrastus. Also through misreading, Athenaeus (or a copyist) transforms Theophrastus’ leaf ἀκανθῶδες (thorny) into leaf ἀγνῶδες (similar to that of the chaste tree?) in Athenaeus (2.70d).

<sup>51</sup> By reading too fast and overwriting two paragraphs, Athenaeus (2.61e-f) located the mushrooms near the Pillars of Hercules (place mentioned in *HP.* 2.7.1, line 1), instead of the Erythraean Sea (*HP* 2.7.1, line 4). Similarly, while Theophrastus said that a wine of Arcadia aborted pregnant bitches, Athenaeus attributes this action to women only (1.31e).

<sup>52</sup> In the edition of Amigues (1988–2006).



Athenaeus extract is drawn. This allows for an evaluation of the difference, regarding the nature of the data, between the Athenaeus “fragment” and the Theophrastean text. The main differences between the two texts (total or partial omission of data by Athenaeus, or philological distortion) are greyed out in the table.

Theophrastus		Botany	Phyto- techny	Cook- ing	Medi- cine	Philo- logy
HP 9.18.9	Ath.18d				M4 (i)	
HP 9.18.10	Ath. 31e	B7 (i)			M4. M3 (i)	
de odor. 51	Ath. 32a					
HP 4.16.6	Ath. 34e	B7			M4 (i)	
*fr 214A FHS&G	Ath. 41e					
*HP 9.18.10	id (41f–42b)	B7 (i)			M3 (i)	
HP 3.6.4	Ath. 50a	B4.B1				
HP 3.13.1–3	Ath. 50b–d	B1.B4.B5	T3.T1			
HP 3.15.6	id	B1.B4.B3		C3		P4
HP 3.16.4	Ath. 50f	B1.B4				
HP 8.5.1	Ath. 54f	B3.B1		C3		P1
CP 4.2.2	Ath. 55e	B4				
CP 3.22.3	Ath. 55f	B6.B4				
HP. 7.4.2	Ath. 56f	B3.B1		C3		P1.P3. P4
HP 3.9.5	Ath. 57b	B1.B4 (i). B5 B6				P1
HP 7.4.6	Ath. 58f	B2		C3		
fr. 399 FHS&G	Ath. 61e					
HP 4.7.2	id	B4 (i).B5. B1.B7			M3	

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Theophrastus		Botany	Phyto- techny	Cook- ing	Medi- cine	Philo- logy
<i>HP</i> 1.6.5	Ath. 61f	B1.B4.B3				
<i>HP</i> 1.6.9	Ath. 62a–c	B4.B1.B2. B3				P4
<i>fr.</i> 400A FHS&G	id					
<i>fr.</i> 366 FHS&G	Ath. 63c					
<i>HP</i> 7.13.8	Ath. 64d	B3.B1.B5. B4.B4 (i)	T3	C3. C3 (i)		
<i>HP</i> 9.20.1	Ath. 66e	B2.B1			M3	
<i>fr.</i> 347A FHS&G	Ath. 66f					
<i>HP.</i> 7.4.5	Ath. 69a	B2.B1	T3			
<i>HP</i> 7.2.4	Ath. 69b	B2	T1.T2	C2.C3		
<i>HP</i> 7.1.2	Ath. 70a	B2.B3	T1.T2			P1
<i>HP</i> 3.18.4	Ath. 70d	B2.B4.B1				P1
<i>HP</i> 6.4.10	Ath. 70d	B5 (i).B1		C2.C3		P1
<i>HP</i> 2.6.2	Ath. 71c	B4.B5.B5 (i)	T1.T2	C3		

3.3. Faithfulness to Theophrastus?

Regarding the first mode of the fidelity of the excerptor (literalness), in Book 2 of Athenaeus, where most of the botanical fragments of Phainias occur, we find errors, inaccuracies or alterations (Sharples & Winter [1983]). The text is even sometimes interpolated or erroneous.<sup>53</sup> The compression of a paragraph can lead to biases (see Ath. 2.61f *vs* *HP* 1.6.5). However, considering all the Theophrastean extracts (111), it appears that deformations involving scientific errors are relatively limited. More crucial for us is the overview of the second kind of fidelity (completeness). Athenaeus discards large parts of the “botanical” discourse of Theophrastus, and most of the phytotechnical comments. Beyond the differences expressed by grey

<sup>53</sup> Cf. especially *fr.* 393 FHS&G and the commentary of Sharples (1995) 139; on *fr.* 399 FHS&G see Sharples (1995) 146–147.



cells in the table, a quantitative comparison with the original extracts demonstrates a significant loss in Sections B and T. Furthermore, and unsurprisingly, Athenaeus has a tendency to “philologize”, transforming descriptive data into lexical information. This deformation, in which the specialist is replaced by the lexicographer, and the gesture of the gardener by the judgment of the gourmet (see Ath. 2.69b vs *HP* 7.2.4), is the third mode (orientation) of fidelity. On the other hand, the culinary data of the Theophrastean text are preserved with one exception (Ath. 71c).<sup>54</sup>

Whether Athenaeus personally selected and reformulated the Theophrastean extracts himself, or, as is more likely, used a compilation or an edition which already made some of these modifications,<sup>55</sup> his treatment of the botanical work of Theophrastus appears relatively fair. Most chapters exploited by Athenaeus in the 15 books of the *Deipnosophists* are already represented in his first two books, and the author borrows from all the books of *HP*, albeit inconsistently.<sup>56</sup> The most serious omissions concern all the theoretical and problematical issues dealt with by Theophrastus.<sup>57</sup> This absence is characteristic of the re-writing of the Peripatetic literature: the Alexandrian and Roman treatment of the naturalist *πραγματεία* constantly disconnects and fragments the data, in favour of specific descriptions and original phenomena.

This statement should adjust our view on the work of Phainias. We can thus suggest, on one hand, from the analysis of the Athenaeian treatment of the work of Theophrastus, that Athenaeus, beyond some

<sup>54</sup> This is indeed a complex data: “while in Coele-Syria, where there are most palm trees, it is only in regions where the soil is salty that dates are produced which can be stored; those from other districts do not keep, but rot, though when fresh they are sweet and can be eaten as they are,” *HP* 2.6.2. In the passage Athenaeus does not care about the taste of date-palm but only about the heart of palm (of the *Phoenix dactylifera*).

<sup>55</sup> The selection of the extracts of Theophrastus is not made by Athenaeus according to Wellmann (1916) 58 and Regenbogen (1940) 1343–1344; Pamphilus the grammarian would be the main mediator. On these endless questions, see also the cautious remarks of Jacob (2004) 152–158.

<sup>56</sup> The chapters exploited in the first two books are: 1.6; 2.6; 3.6, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 22; 4.2, 16; 6.4; 7.1, 2, 4, 13; 8.5 ; 9.18, 20. In the other books fragments also appear from 1.4, 8, 13; 2.5, 17; 4.4, 8; 5.3; 6.6, 7, 8; 7.15; 9.7, 19. Books 5 (on wood), and 8 (on herbaceous plants) are seldom used.

<sup>57</sup> There is only one fragment (42) which suggests a theoretical insight.

bias, is basically faithful to the epistemonical profile of Phainias' work, which more clearly combines botany and cooking. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the strictly practical outlook, deprived of any particular insight or theoretical issue in Phainias' fragments,<sup>58</sup> may be assigned to the distortion of the secondary tradition. The classificatory indications (as in **44** on plant classification according to the shape of the seed) could be the result of a lexicographical outlook and a way of organizing the botanical data rather than the expression of a scientific method.<sup>59</sup> If we only had the *parodos* of the *Birds* of Aristophanes, we could (wrongly!) consider him as a methodical naturalist because he classifies birds into seven strict categories according to biotope and diet.<sup>60</sup>

#### 4. The Hypothesis of a Simplified Edition

##### 4.1. The Alexandrian impoverishment (method)

"The decline of the Lyceum" has been stigmatized in every possible way (Sharples [1999] 151),<sup>61</sup> especially in the field of naturalistic inquiry (Lennox [2001] 110ff.). This decline, marked by a loss of interest in biological questions,<sup>62</sup> would have occurred before Lycon and even as early as the Theophrastean readjustment (Obbink [1940] 932–948), and it would lead to the disappearance of biology in the Aristotelian sense of the term (Hellmann [2010] 558).<sup>63</sup>

Without fundamentally challenging this pessimistic view, it seems to me that the transmission of the Peripatetic works and the Alexandrian

<sup>58</sup> We could mitigate this judgment for two fragments (**42**, **44**) from book one.

<sup>59</sup> On the contrary, Wehrli, Wöhrle, Zhmud (2004) 589 write, without arguments: "bemühte sich Phainias – wie Theophrast in der *Historia Plantarum* – um eine systematische Ordnung des Pflanzenreichs."

<sup>60</sup> See also the list of classification terminology, purely formal, in the beginning of the *Epitome of the Aristotelian Historia Animalium* of Aristophanes of Byzantium (A 1–26).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Sharples (1998) 272.

<sup>62</sup> According to Lennox (2001) 124, n. 4 the only authors interested in these issues would be Phainias and Eudemus. We should probably add the names of Clearchus and Strato (cf. Hellmann [2006] 330).

<sup>63</sup> Note the quite eccentric hypothesis according to which, on the contrary, most of the Aristotelian corpus would come from Theophrastus (Zürcher 1952), or a synthetic production of the first Peripatos (Grayeff [1974] 77–85).



“filter”, *i.e.* the reformatting of these works, is partly responsible for this decay. It has been claimed of Theophrastus that he lacked any theoretical depth,<sup>64</sup> although his doctrine and methodology were very close to those of Aristotle (Gottschalk [1998] 284). This severity is partly due to the indirect transmission of the bulk of Theophrastus’ philosophy and inquiries, and thus to the probable distortion of his work. If in the biological field Theophrastus did not significantly correct or improve theoretical issues,<sup>65</sup> the “zoological fragments” diffused in the name of Theophrastus in the secondary tradition are marked by schematism and oversimplification; when an approximate reconstruction of Theophrastean discourse is possible, it helps to appraise the theoretical issues that tradition has erased (Zucker [2008]).<sup>66</sup>

If we were to reconstruct the outlines of Aristotle’s zoology only from the Athenaeus references (referring generally to the so-called *Zoica*), we would attribute a very pragmatic, didactic, and philological conception of the animal world to him, focusing on monographic and descriptive display, very poor in theoretical aspects, and rather exotic or anecdotic: the migration of blind tuna, the birth of eels in mud, the pentagonal heart of spiny dogfish swallowing his young to protect them from external danger (Ath. 7.294d), the ability of the garfish to live for a long time after being dissected (Ath. 7.315a), etc. The knowledge privileged by Athenaeus is somewhat sensational and peculiar and his condensed Aristotle is quite eccentric. It is, indeed, impossible to find in the extracts of Aristotle contained in the “library” of Athenaeus the slightest trace of the methodological issues elaborated in the biological corpus of Aristotle.

As in the case for Phainias, Athenaeus is the key witness for the *Zoica*, Alexandrian avatar of Aristotelian zoology, which was probably a popular, orderly and purely descriptive handbook dealing with animals, one after the other (Lord [1961] 152–153). The *Epitome* of Aristophanes of Byzantium, a similar “reader’s digest” but distinct from the *Zoica*,<sup>67</sup> represents the whole problematic of the transmission

<sup>64</sup> See Gottschalk (1998) 287; he recognizes in Theophrastus careful observations and experiences but no “over-arching theories.”

<sup>65</sup> There is fundamentally no profound dissonance between the two naturalists. On the question of spontaneous generation (which is a real theory for *neither* of them, although they admit it as a possibility) see Sharples (1995) 122–123; Balme (1962).

<sup>66</sup> See also, on the treatise *On Fish*, Sharples (1992b) 357–358.

<sup>67</sup> In spite of Rose (1863), Wellmann (1891), De Stefani (1904) and Regenbogen

of the biological work of Aristotle (Hellmann [2006]) and is another example of the mutation and impoverished standardisation of Aristotelian knowledge.<sup>68</sup> One may wonder if the trend of transforming natural history (in a similar way to history)<sup>69</sup> into a collection of anecdotes is an early evolution of the Peripatetic tradition itself, or the defective result of Alexandrian transmission.<sup>70</sup> Marked similarities between the activity of the school at the time of Theophrastus and that of the scholars of the Alexandrian library (Sharples [1999] 148) may stem from confusion between the scientific inclination of the Peripatos and the “packaging” and appropriation of the Aristotelian heritage from Alexandrian philologists and scholars. It seems that there is convergence on some tools, like the list, which corresponds to both a methodological choice of Peripatos and a practical option for Alexandrian librarians. Athenaeus is particularly fond of this kind of file, which becomes a lexicographic mania and several fragments in Phainias include such lists (**44, 48, 53**).<sup>71</sup>

#### 4.2. Rewriting and reformatting (vulgarisation and segmentation)

The fragmented work of Phainias has probably received the same simplified treatment as the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Extracts from his work have probably been cut and transmitted through a compilation, that Regenbogen (*RE* 7. 1443–4) and Wehrli (1969) 40 attribute to Pamphilos, an Alexandrian grammarian considered by Wellmann, with conviction and fancy, as the main mediator of Aelian and Athenaeus.<sup>72</sup> Whoever the intermediary was, we can assume the

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(1940) the identification of the two texts is plainly unsustainable.

<sup>68</sup> The biological work of Aristotle is probably among those who benefitted from the earliest transmission (Lord [1961] 140).

<sup>69</sup> On this aspect see Schütrumpf, this volume.

<sup>70</sup> According to Lord (1986) 158 this mutation would be due to the heirs of Aristotle: “If drastic surgery was indeed performed on the corpus or on elements of it, it is much more likely to be the work of Aristotle’s immediate successors, who may be supposed to have been less reluctant to treat the writings of the master as part of a common and still living enterprise.” The role played by Peripatetics such as Demetrius in the design of the cultural center of Alexandria makes the issue complex.

<sup>71</sup> This inclination lasts for a long time. While the *Epitome* of Aristophanes only survived in a manuscript, the list of zoonymic and classificatory terminology (which is the first section of the book) is kept separately in dozens of manuscripts.

<sup>72</sup> According to Rudolph (Jacob [2004] 150), Favorinus of Arelate would be the



virtual existence of *Phytika*,<sup>73</sup> botanical compendium in the Peripatetic manner, like the “Aristotelian” *Zoika*, which offered a revised version of Theophrastus’ work, possibly incorporating (like the *Epitome* of Aristophanes) posterior elements (including some from Phainias). Thus, in the same way that there is much confusion between Aristotle and Theophrastus, as shown by the old lists, it is possible that some botanical fragments assigned to Theophrastus are actually from Phainias.

In the new order of Hellenistic biology, of which only the literary residue subsists, the discourse no longer has unity or organic consistence: it splinters, presenting at each specific occasion the results of empirical observation. By separating the explanatory discourse from the descriptive discourse, by privileging singular details to general issues, the Alexandrian revision quashes the coherence of a discipline that becomes essentially compilatory, and adopts a lexical and purely abstract order, with no biological relevancy: the alphabetical order. The adoption of the brief and fragmented form is another profound change which affects both discourse and knowledge. Indeed, it also tends to change the perspective and purpose of knowledge from within. The editorial and scientific scheme that we lent to the work of Phainias, which *selects* natural objects from the domain in question (gastronomically relevant plants) and adds a general *introduction* before the descriptions, is precisely the general structure of the *Epitome* of Aristophanes of Byzantium, which is a popular handbook of zoology (Hellman [2006] 345). It is possible that, in the case of Phainias too, this structure was posthumous.

The Phainias fragments also confirm another evolution of Alexandrian *historia naturalis*,<sup>74</sup> outside the field of botany, and probably one that Athenaeus is personally less sensitive to: the development of paradoxography. This change occurs on three levels (literary, scientific and epistemological), through scholarly transmission, the general conception of nature, and the naturalist knowledge evident in the final chapter of *HP* (9.20), which collects brief and varied notes with no

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main source for Athenaeus.

<sup>73</sup> This is the title given to the book of Phainias (49) and to the book of Theophrastus (see 50).

<sup>74</sup> See Hellmann (2006) 331: “there was an increasing interest in the investigation of biological peculiarities and astonishing phenomena.”

particular order. The popularity of this scientific format that satisfies both curiosity and haste, and for which *On characteristics of animals* by Aelian offers an expanded variant, shows the impact of stylistic and editorial choices on the nature of knowledge itself. Two fragments of Phainias (**39AB**, **40** = 34, 35 Wehrli) are ranked by Wehrli among the *Mirabilien* although it is extremely unlikely that Phainias “wrote” a book Θαυμάσια.<sup>75</sup> The *Mirabilia* data are always secondary recycled data, and in this case Callimachus is responsible for the misrepresentation of Phainias through wonderful stories. According to Dorandi (this volume, p. 160), **39AB–40** should not be attributed to a work of *Mirabilia* but labelled as “of uncertain origin.” Besides, in a *historia plantarum* it would be perfectly normal to deal with water, rivers, and lakes, as Theophrastus does in his own *HP*, especially if we consider that **40** occurs in a section on plants. Text **22** of Phainias, which mentions a rain of fishes which lasted for three days, would not fail to be integrated into this set, if we only had the version of Eustathius (**22B**), which does not cite the title of the work, given by Athenaeus (333a = **22A**): *On prytanies of Eresos*... In this literary “genre”, each naturalistic datum is presented individually, and in the order of the source, *i.e.* in disorder, and often abridged to one or two lines, with a maximum development of fifteen lines (Jacob [1983]). That Aristotle himself could become a paradoxographical author shows the formidable power of this writing that renders nature sensational.

## 5. The Scientific Misadventure

If the botanical fragments of Phainias seem to be so poor, with regard to the considerable Theophrastean legacy, it is legitimate to wonder how they have survived. Like in the field of zoology, where the name of Aristotle was so predominant that almost all the works or books on zoology were attributed to him during the Alexandrian period (Lord [1961] 153), the reputation of Theophrastus could have completely overshadowed other Peripatetic botanists. Phainias, quoted 23 times by Athenaeus (as opposed to 111 for Theophrastus) was saved, like most scholars preserved by Athenaeus, by the extreme reduction he was victim of, and the mediation of a scholarly anthology that made his botanical work both known and unrecognizable. Modern

<sup>75</sup> See S. White, this volume, p. 182–188.



scholars, relying as much on vague parallels as on the immensity of the wreck of ancient works, can ascribe some influence to Phainias.<sup>76</sup> However, his botanical work is less worthy for its scientific data than for the light it throws on the literary misadventure of the Peripatetic scientific works, whose fate depended on scientists who often took fragmented scholarship for knowledge, like Athenaeus and the many similar grammarians devoted to compilation who preceded him.

In the case of Phainias, the “fragments” are not real extracts, even when they are literal: they are rather the remains of the original work. Decontextualized and deprived of a theoretical or problematic framework, these fragments are presented as fossilized formulas and almost pointless, fully recycled in a library that provides no coherent discourse. And this contorted state does not allow us to conclude that the work of Phainias contained no systematic issue nor theoretical insight. The Alexandrian experience clearly shows that there is no contradiction between science and philology, but the literary transposition of the naturalist knowledge in popular or scholarly genres focused on descriptions and natural data has probably partly determined the evolution of the discipline itself and its ambitions. We no longer dispose of an integral text of a Greek naturalist after Theophrastus... If, as pointed out Lennox (2001) 114, “the program [of Aristotle] disappears” with the successors of Aristotle, they probably share the responsibility for the sinking of Aristotelian-Theophrastean biology with the librarians who took charge of the knowledge, and of the transmission and dissemination of the literature. Our negative view of Alexandrian biology (Althoff [1999]) is perhaps deeply distorted by the editorial form that was imposed on the decomposed and destructured works of Peripatetic naturalists, from which only the first two scholars escaped—and not unscathed.

<sup>76</sup> See Wellmann (1924) 140: „Niger und Dioskurides, d. h. Krateuas sind in ihren Angaben über die Heilwirkungen des Nessels in letzter Linie von diesem Peripatetiker abhängig.”

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## 14

# **Peripatetic Forms of Writing: A Systems-Theory Approach<sup>1</sup>**

*Markus Asper*

Κλέαρχος· Σολεύς, ἔγραψε διάφορα (Suda, s.v.)

The spectrum of Peripatetic research is overwhelmingly large, to the extent that one would have to search quite thoroughly for a topic about which Aristotle, his friends, and his immediate successors have not found both new and fundamental insights. In many instances, Peripatetic research created whole fields which later became disciplines proper, such as zoology, poetics, politics and mechanics, to name a few. Consequently, Peripatetic terms and concepts are still present in many modern disciplinary tool-boxes.

The new, however, whether it consists of facts, terms or theories, needs adequate forms of presentation, storage, and distribution in order to become and stay accessible and thus relevant. Just as the discovered facts and explanations, one could thus investigate the corresponding forms of communicating these discoveries, e.g., terminologies, the

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Anna-Maria Kanthak, Oliver Overwien, Markus Dubischar, Georg Wöhrle, Oliver Hellmann, Christoph Helmig, and Steve Kidd whose help and criticism have greatly improved this paper.

microstructure of arguments,<sup>2</sup> and the architecture of whole treatises. A sort of “literary technology”, to quote Steven Shapin,<sup>3</sup> is part of the Peripatetic project. To concentrate on the formally new features among Peripatetic textual practice comes with the advantage of hypothetical historical contextualization, as opposed to the radical newness of factual discovery. I will thus concentrate on these literary forms of discovery.

### 1. The Problem

Peripatetic research, almost entirely lost to posterity as actual practice, is accessible to us mainly through its literary output. Scholars of literature may ask how these literary forms emerged and developed, and which factors drove these processes. The problem will become immediately apparent, if, by way of a thought experiment, one asks what forms of text a given author could have chosen at a given time and place: A Babylonian scribe in about 1800 BC, attempting to put down, say, something mathematical, had the choice between two textual formats: the so-called ‘problem’, which proceeds from a problem and then lays out a recipe-like structure of how to deal with it, and a plain list of numbers such as co-efficients or Pythagorean triples.<sup>4</sup> Given how much these two forms differ, one wonders whether there was any choice of form at all. Facing the same hypothetical question 1300 years later, a Greek *phusikos* (φυσικός) had a fundamental choice, namely whether to choose prose or hexameters, that is, to produce a prose treatise or didactic poetry.<sup>5</sup> A Greek physician who wanted to commit some part of his knowledge to writing in about 400 BC already had the choice between certain established genres of medical prose-writing—for example, collections of paratactic units (*De Morbis*, *Prognosticon*, *Aphorismoi*),<sup>6</sup> epideictic, argument-driven

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Netz (2001) on Aristotle’s paragraphs.

<sup>3</sup> I take the term from Steven Shapin’s influential paper (1984) on Robert Boyle’s prose.

<sup>4</sup> Robson (2001). It is typical that in the last case, modern readers are often lost with respect to what the meaning of the list was.

<sup>5</sup> For the implications of that decision as far as distribution is concerned, see Asper (2007b) 98–100.

<sup>6</sup> In these cases the units themselves differ considerably in form and might well be understood as genre-markers.



treatises meant to be delivered through a performance or that substitute for such a performance (e.g. *De flatibus*, *De morbo sacro*), and case histories, such as in *Epidemics*<sup>7</sup>—although Hippocratic physicians may be an exception to the rule. Even the sophists, according to our limited knowledge, or even Plato and Xenophon have very few literary genres to choose from: topic-focused treatises of varying complexity, dialogues, of course, and perhaps letters.

Thus, most authors who engage in the written communication of knowledge have only a restricted choice of formats or genres.<sup>8</sup> The Peripatetic group of scholars, however, seems to provide an exception to that rule: the rapid series of discovery in so many fields corresponds to an accelerated differentiation of forms developed in order to store and distribute these discoveries. In what follows I will first give a sketch of the different generic forms used by Peripatetic scholars, all well-known, admittedly, but, considering the sheer dimension of the spectrum, worthy of synopsis.

## 2. The Spectrum of Forms

Among the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, the following textual forms are either still extant, and thus adequately documented, or can be plausibly inferred:

(a) the so-called *pragmateia* (πραγματεία). Among the Aristotelian and Theophrastean corpus, this textual form is privileged by transmission (in some cases, however, the agents of transmission might have created the form from more restricted elements as is the case with the *Metaphysics*). As is usual with ancient (and most modern) terms for textual formats, the term has the advantage of being part of the Peripatetic conceptual environment which we investigate by means of this term. On the other hand, the attempt to define or even accurately describe what a *pragmateia* exactly is, turns out to be surprisingly difficult (and this is still the case by the time of Galen).

<sup>7</sup> For a spectrum of genres in Hippocratic medicine, see van der Eijk (1997), Wittern (1998).

<sup>8</sup> Although not my topic in this paper, it might be interesting to approach the question of genre in science writing, even in modern times, through the notion of choice. As far as choice of format or genre is concerned, my impression is that we are currently facing a development of diminishing choices and approach a 'Babylonian' state of restricted or non-existing choice.

Are the *Categories* a *pragmateia* in the same sense as *De partibus animalium*? How can we account for the great difference in style between, for example, the two *pragmateiai* of *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Poetics*? I will leave such questions for others and content myself here with a provisional understanding of the Peripatetic *pragmateia* as an argumentative text that focuses on a certain clearly demarcated topic, includes doxography and problems, and addresses a group of readers anticipated by the author.<sup>9</sup> Two salient features of this rather special form of written communication are the different modes of appeal (the *pragmateia* has an anonymous authorial persona, who approaches his addressees mostly by integrating first-person plural forms, but verges on the impersonal coming close to mathematical prose) and the local structure of paragraphs.<sup>10</sup> *Pragmateiai* provide a form that accommodates both the exposition of facts and of explanations as well as the discussion of predecessors' or competitors' opinions and arguments.

(b) The *pragmateia* is, however, far from being a formally homogeneous genre. There are *pragmateiai* that differ considerably, most conspicuously when they provide access to information that is vital for several other texts and which has to be presented in a way that allows for repeated retrieval. A typical case is *Metaph.* Δ, perhaps the autonomous treatise *Περὶ ποσαχῶς λεγομένων*,<sup>11</sup> a lexicon-style list of terms comprising about 30 entries. Obviously, this list was not meant to be read continuously, but to display 'discreet' bits of information to be accessed separately.<sup>12</sup> Something similar might be true for the imposing *Historia animalium*, which some modern readers have taken to be 'exclusively a work of reference'.<sup>13</sup> Such a judgment was seconded

<sup>9</sup> Trying to oppose the wide-spread notion of 'lecture notes'—on this, see for example the survey by Föllinger (2012) 238—I had tried to understand the Peripatetic *pragmateia* as a 'school-script' (unpublished part of my habilitation thesis, 2003), emerging from internal discussion and meant to serve as codified consensus from which further communication could have started. Such an approach could utilize Luhmann's notion of 'Kompaktkommunikation' (1987) 627, meant to describe publicly displayed art-work as a catalyst of acts of communication that would not happen otherwise. In our case, the *pragmateia* would serve as such a catalytic starting-point of communication.

<sup>10</sup> Netz (2001).

<sup>11</sup> Nr. 36 in Diogenes Laertius' list, see Asper (2007a) 68–69.

<sup>12</sup> For 'discrete' versus 'continuous' texts, see Asper (2007a) 57–58.

<sup>13</sup> 'Reines Nachschlagewerk' according to Flashar (2004) 254.



by Dirlmeier, who claimed that the *HA* is the only *pragmateia* that was meant to be read, not listened to<sup>14</sup> (although from a more recent perspective, some qualifications might be in place,<sup>15</sup> in general one can still subscribe to Dirlmeier's view). These two cases suffice to show that differing practices of reception lead to different literary forms, which have not left any traces in ancient terminology. Accordingly, the advantage of having to use just one term ('*pragmateia*') to cover, for example, both *Metaph.* Δ and *EN*, is considerably diminished by the attendant fuzziness of that term. With respect to the functional definition of *pragmateia* given above, one might well say, that in these two cases the presentation of facts is clearly more important than explanation and doxography.

(c) Among the lost works attested for Aristotle there are several that were probably devoted to visualizing complex phenomena. These add a diagrammatic or, at least, visual level to the textual. In this group, the eight books of the lost Ἀνατομαί are probably what comes to mind immediately. Aristotle refers to this work quite often, usually with a remark such as δῆλον δ' ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν Ἀνατομῶν (fr. 298 Gigon, from *Resp.*). The quotes usually hint at visual evidence provided by the *Anatomai*, and thus the work probably was a collection of sketches,<sup>16</sup> perhaps meant to be consulted while the reader was trying to follow *HA*.<sup>17</sup> As is evident from Aristotle's quotes, the sketches were supposed to be accessible to all of his addressees, for whom a quick glance was enough to obtain the information they needed. The *Anatomai* had a special status within the works of Aristotle, as is betrayed by the fact that he is practically the only writer who quotes it.<sup>18</sup> It follows, I think, that the *Anatomai* was even more closely connected to the primary audience and institutional habits of the Peripatos than were Aristotle's *pragmateiai*.

<sup>14</sup> Dirlmeier (1962) 20–23; Flashar (2004) 254.

<sup>15</sup> Such qualifications would on the one hand proceed from a better understanding of ancient Greek and Roman reading habits—see Johnson (2000)—on the other hand they would be motivated by the Aristotelian fondness of diagrams (e.g., in the *Analytics*), for which a non-written form of reception is difficult to imagine.

<sup>16</sup> The terms used are: σχήματα (fr. 303 Gigon, from *HA*), διαγραφαί (fr. 304, from *HA*), διαγεγραμμένα (fr. 308 Gigon, from *HA*), or παραδείγματα (fr. 320 Gigon, from *GA*).

<sup>17</sup> Which is suggested by the quotes in *PA* and *GA* (fr. 309–312, 314–320 Gigon).

<sup>18</sup> The two exceptions are Apuleius and Michael of Ephesus (fr. 295 and 296 Gigon).

The διαίρεσεις,<sup>19</sup> a format which probably contained text and diagrams side by side, might also be a candidate for a text based on or geared towards visualization. I imagine *diaireseis* as a collection of tree-diagrams and short textual elucidations. A certain impression of such a text might survive in—admittedly, much later—manuscripts from the Galenic tradition:



Fig. 1: the so-called ‘Tabulae Vindobonenses’ (Cod. Vindob. gr. 16, 13<sup>th</sup> cent., excerpt from fol. 339r) which might go back to a predecessor from the 5<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> cent.). Picture by courtesy of Oliver Overwien.

The *Tabulae Vindobonenses* are visualized excerpts from Galen, in this case, of his *pragmateiai* on the pulse.<sup>20</sup> They exhibit an interesting mixture of Galen’s own terms, the diagrams proper, and secondary taxonomical indexes, e.g., numbers and colors. Aristotle’s *Diaireseis* were probably not the result of textual condensation, as are the *Tabulae Vindobonenses*, but I imagine them as a similar mixture of

<sup>19</sup> The *Διαίρεσεις σοφιστικάι* (in Diogenes’ list of works nr. 29), the *Διαίρεσεις ιζ* (Diogenes nr. 42), the *Τῶν ἀγαθῶν διαίρεσις* (fr. 622 Gigon), and the *Διαίρεσις τῶν ἐναντίων* (fr. 643,1 Gigon). The latter two leave us with the impression that they actually were (or were meant to be) part of a more comprehensive collection of *diaireseis* (perhaps nr. 42).

<sup>20</sup> If one could assume that such texts existed already much earlier, dihaeretical introductory literature would have to be understood before a broad background of such tabulae. For this, see Asper (2007a) 274–282.



very simple diagrams, above all, tree-diagrams, terms and secondary texts. If the quotes are anything to go by, the *Diaireseis* were meant to provide a one-glance work of reference concerning the structure of taxonomies and taxonomic concepts, and thus were quite different from the *Anatomai*.

(d) Collections:<sup>21</sup> Peripatetic scholars are collectors. Aristotle and his friends collect data, facts of all kinds, problems in all fields ranging from physics to grammar, explanations according to such fields, and doxographical knowledge at least in the fields of medicine and physical speculation. For collectors of all times and places, quickly the problem emerges of how to store and present the items one has collected. Collectors of knowledge are not exempt from that rule, especially since in their case, the collection aims at producing or provoking new knowledge, that is, it is meant not to be an end in itself, but a sum of starting-points. Moreover, collecting leads to a host of secondary activities, such as description, classification, and explanation, for all of which textual conventions emerge in the course of communicating what has been collected. As far as these activities are text-based, they have to be either discarded or stored in forms and structures that allow for retrieval.

What are the textual models that are used and were, perhaps, developed by the Peripatos that accommodate all of these functions? To give a few examples:<sup>22</sup> The foremost genre of collection is the so-called *sunagōgē*, essentially an arrangement of excerpts or paraphrases, either thematically arranged or according to authors, ambitiously encyclopedic. The medical *Iatrika* or *Menōneia* were certainly such collections as was the *Συναγωγή τεχνῶν*, the title of which one finds in Diogenes Laertius<sup>23</sup> and which was presumably concerned with rhetorical knowledge. Doxography must have been a prominent feature in these collections, to which the much-discussed *Φυσικῶν δόξαι*

<sup>21</sup> In general, see Lengen (2002) 178–9; for the *Ἀνατομαί* Stückelberger (1998) 287–93. See Schütrumpf (1989) 190 and n. 70f. for further writings that are not *pragmateiai*.

<sup>22</sup> Flashar (2004) 269 divides these writings differently, namely in ‘a) doxographical, b) historical, c) antiquarian, d) scientific collections’. In this paper, by ‘early Peripatos’ I mean Aristotle and Theophrastus, with respect to whom the same picture emerges. Perhaps, however, there are more doxographical and list-like texts attested for Theophrastus (see Wehrli, Wöhrle & Zhmud [2004] 511–514).

<sup>23</sup> Diogenes Laertius Nr. 77; fr. 123–129 Gigon.

of Theophrastus should therefore be added. If we can judge by the *Anonymus Londiniensis*, such collections arranged their materials by individuals or groups of individuals, certainly not by problems. It seems, then, that such collections were meant to provide heuristical tools in order to build arguments by comparing them to arguments already made, rather than simply to store data, problems or approaches.<sup>24</sup>

Collections of problems with an arrangement that focuses on problems, such as the *Problemata phusika*, were well known to Aristotle, even if our *Problemata phusika* is post-Aristotelian.<sup>25</sup> Due to its sheer size, it is not easy to use the collection; nonetheless, it attempts to approach knowledge as anonymous answers to scientific problems and not as personal opinions of identifiable experts. The collection impressively demonstrates the range of interests in the Peripatos and relentless curiosity as its driving force; furthermore, it demonstrates in action how effective the syllogistic approach is to the explanation of nature. Although the problema *per se* is an effective textual form, the collectors apparently did not find a convincing way to arrange the collection in a manner that allows for finding certain questions immediately (for an interesting exception see n. 40 below).

Both kinds of collections seem to have had pre-Peripatetic precursors, very probably among the sophists.<sup>26</sup> The early Peripatos, however, develops new collective forms where the material collected was a new object of collection, for example, lists of victors, the *Politeiai*, and Theophrastus' *Characters*. Lists of the victors in the various competitions that were part of civic festivals (Ὀλυμπιονῆikai, Πυθιονῆikai, Νῆikai Διονυσιακαί, Διδασκαλῆikai) mainly consisted of names and dates and not much else, it seems. At least the *Didaskaliai* might have simply followed one of the official formats for presenting the material.<sup>27</sup> Those lists were very useful for means of providing dates,

<sup>24</sup> For the functions of doxography see, e.g., the Mansfeld-Zhmud controversy in Zhmud (2001), Mansfeld (2002).

<sup>25</sup> As is shown by *Top.* I 14, 105 b 19 f. and the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias *ad locum* (cf. Rose<sup>3</sup>, p. 106, on the lost *Περὶ προβλημάτων*). For all approaches the best starting-point is still Flashar (1991) 303–316. For fragments of the genuine *Problemata physika* see fr. 711–769 Gigon.

<sup>26</sup> Asper (2007a) 72–73.

<sup>27</sup> No pre-Peripatetic inscription of such data survives, and the existing ones, in Pickard-Cambridge (1988) 101–125, are probably based on the *Didaskaliai*.



prosopographical questions, and, in the case of the last two lists, for the history of drama. According to the fragments (e.g., fr. 416, 418, 428 Gigon),<sup>28</sup> Aristotle did not change the inscriptional convention (cf. IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2318), which the polis had developed for means of representation, and which was, thus, organized by the official calendar; this formal choice did not greatly enhance searches for, e.g., a single author or *chorēgos* across all entries.

Scholars interested in research genres will learn most from Peripatetic collections when these have no precursors and no directly relevant textual models to be based upon. The *Politeiai* presented 158 (or 171) essays that covered the political organization and the history of certain poleis; explicit quotations survive of 40, ranging from Athens to Phokaia. If all of these were comparable in scope and extent to the only *politeia* extant, the one of the Athenians, then a comparative approach to all this information must have been problematic. Even if the collection was originally motivated by analytical approaches, that is, in search for insights contributing to a practical *epistēmē* concerning politics, as outlined in the *Politics*, the sheer mass of detail and narrative has overpowered such an analytical approach. The mechanism of this over-powering may be seen in terms of aesthetic concerns becoming pre-dominant: the history of the Areopagus or the fragments of Solon are fascinating, so much that one loses sight of the aim of treating them as steps towards a certain goal. A modern reader can still observe a similar effect when looking at Theophrastus' *Characters*, a collection structurally and functionally similar to the *Politeiai* (the *Characters* could lead to an inductive theoretical work on ethics, just as the *Politeiai* are meant to serve as material for the *Politics*). The single sketch, however, is so convincing as a vividly mimetic piece of description—that is, for aesthetic reasons—that the project of analyzing this material, which in this case was perhaps meant to lead to a comprehensive discussion in Περὶ ἠθῶν became less attractive.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> But cf. Gigon's introductory remark (p. 548).

<sup>29</sup> If one could still compare these writings *in toto*, perhaps a project would emerge on the aesthetical risks of collecting, that is, tendencies of the collected items to become autonomous, which would also be a project looking at histories of differentiation.

(e) The fifth group of texts produced among the first-generation members of the Peripatos are condensations, that is, shortened versions of texts the character and title of which they preserve (unlike a collection which usually fits in the excerpt into a narrative or conceptual frame). Aristotle's *Theodekteia* (Τέχνης τῆς Θεοδέκτου συναγωγή) must have been among these condensations, a collection of material useful for rhetorical purposes, such as clever beginnings of periods, etc., excerpted by Aristotle from an unknown work of Theodektes and used by him as a resource in the last book of his *Rhetoric*.<sup>30</sup> Diogenes lists among the writings of Aristotle two excerpts from Plato (nr. 21 and 22) and several condensations of his own works: the Ἐκλογή τῶν ἐναντίων (fr. 644 f. Gigon) and the Ἐκλογή τῶν ἀνατομῶν (Diogenes Nr. 105, fr. 325 Gigon). A similar picture emerges from Theophrastus' list of works as provided by Diogenes, who enumerates five epitomes of works of Plato and Aristotle, respectively, but also condensations of his own Φυσικῶν δόξαι.<sup>31</sup> It seems, thus, that self-epitomization was a current authorial practice among the many ones used in the early Peripatos.

(f) and (g) There are two more forms that, as forms, have been more popular and have provoked a lively discussion, even if not in respect to Aristotle. First, the rather well known dialogues and their relation to the *pragmateiai* have been much discussed. When both a *pragmateia* and a dialogue covered the same topic, as was the case with the *Poetics* and Περὶ ποιητῶν, the fragments of the dialogues suggest that the two forms followed a principle of divided labor to the extent that the two literary products were designed as complements.<sup>32</sup> If we assume that both operated on the same theoretical basis and subjected their respective materials to the same categories, it is remarkable that the dialogue contained almost all narrative elements (anecdotes, biographical information, etc.), whereas the *pragmateia* focused on dihaeretic operations, definition, description and the explanation of prescriptive elements. Second, the didactic letter, a form very prominent starting from the times of Epicurus,<sup>33</sup> but in Aristotle's oeuvre diminished to

<sup>30</sup> Mentioned in *Rhet.* III 9, 1410 b 2; the title Τέχνης τῆς Θεοδέκτου συναγωγή in Diogenes Laertius Nr. 82 = Theodekteia; fr. 133–148 Gigon. See also Flashar (2004) 269.

<sup>31</sup> See Gigon's list introducing Aristoteles fr. 325 (p. 502).

<sup>32</sup> See Flashar (2004) 266–7; Wehrli, Wöhrle & Zhmud (2004) 505.

<sup>33</sup> Epicurus even might have invented or brought to perfection the genre due to practical motivations: Asper (2007) 235.



one, namely the suspiciously addressed *Περὶ μοναρχίας* to Alexander, the authenticity of which is uncertain (Diog. Laert. Nr. 18; fr. 982 Gigon).<sup>34</sup>

Inspired by the *Tabulae Vindobonenses* and by Peripatetic practices of visualization, here are these genres and their hypothetical precursors presented in diagrammatic form, covering the development from 400 to 320 BC:

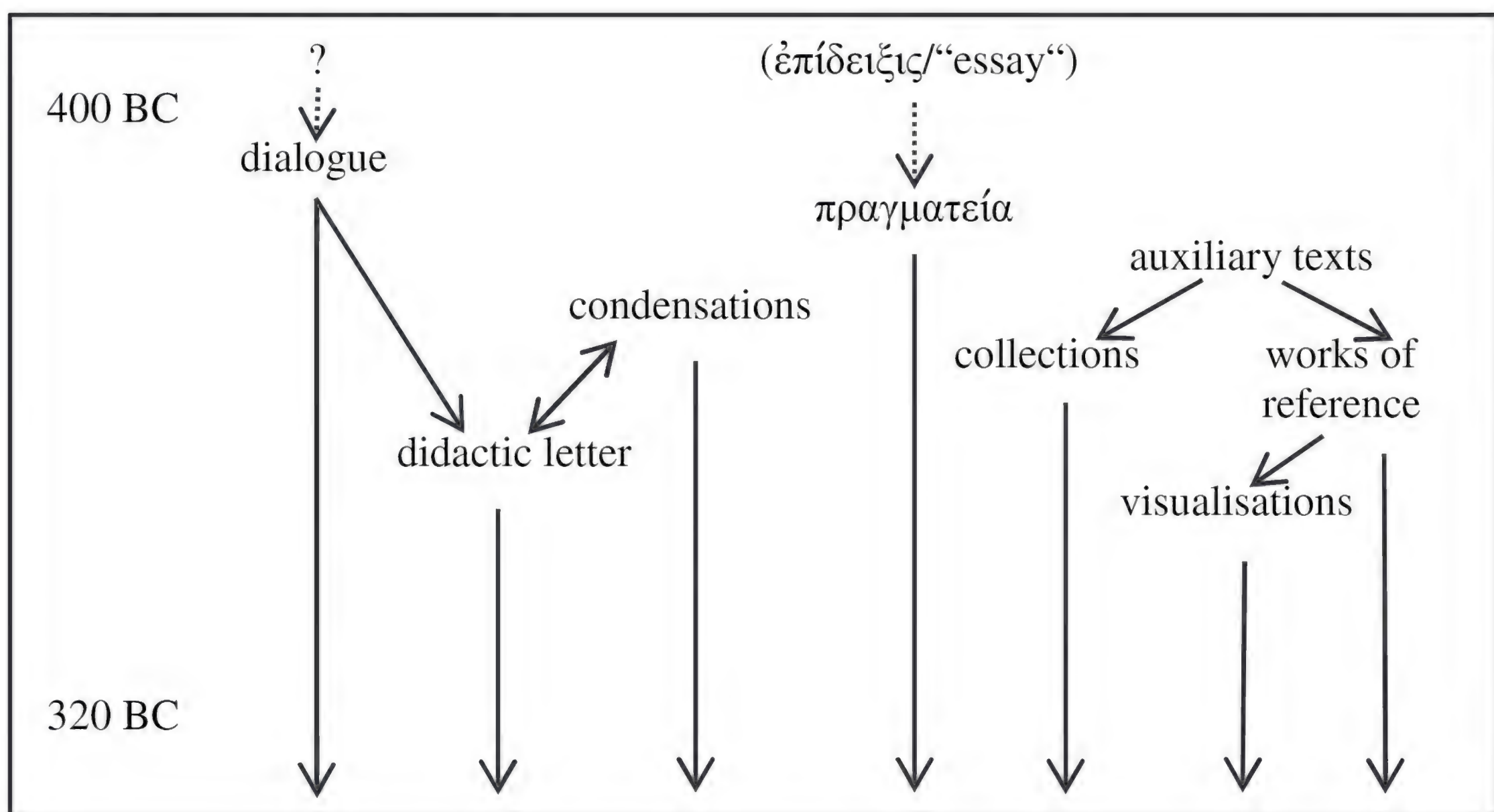


Fig. 2: Differentiation of text forms in the Peripatos down to 320 BC

The seven groups of text-forms described above emerge during roughly the period 400–320 BC from only two or perhaps three predecessors. Therefore, one should understand the emergence as a process of differentiation which took place in time and can, thus, be called a ‘history’. The starting-points of what was to become dialogue and *pragmateia* (and, perhaps, didactic letters), are unclear. With respect to the *pragmateia* the most compelling hypothesis is that it emerged from epideictic texts (see n. 35). The products of such differentiation are all, more or less, results of functional elements that were, in an earlier time, parts of the ‘mother-genre’, became dominant, differentiated themselves from the mother-genre, and then became autonomous

<sup>34</sup> Which was the content of the letters mentioned by Diogenes in Nr. 144? Of course, we do not know (nor, whether they were authentic); they will not, however, have been of purely private significance, since they were at least preserved and copied.



and stable. While for the prehistory of the *pragmateia*, such a ‘history’ must remain speculative, such history can be discerned quite clearly regarding the further differentiation that took its starting-point from the *pragmateia*.<sup>35</sup>

Three types of auxiliary texts<sup>36</sup> appear in the context of the *pragmateia*; all of them seem to be certain functional elements that were integrative parts of the *pragmateia* and then became autonomous. One can trace back collections, works of reference, and visualizations to passages in the *pragmateia* that are functionally similar, that is, that merely collect data, provide lists of terms and definitions, and rely on visualization. Such passages become autonomous texts when they become either too large or too complex to remain part of a single *pragmateia* and/or have to be addressed by the audiences of different *pragmateiai*.

Differentiation follows a logic that is functional and does not depend on time. Thus, next to the highly differentiable *pragmateia*, the form of the knowledge-focused dialogue, once established, seems to have remained quite stable. Perhaps the didactic letter is a by-product of the dialogue, but this is nothing more than a guess (one might reasonably argue that the contrary assumption is more probable, given the age of the genre ‘letter’). Condensations provide an interesting case: they emerge from the *pragmateia* by differentiation, but can also assume the form of the didactic letter. So too, where *pragmateia* and dialogue appear to treat similar topics, they seem to complement each

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the *pragmateia* itself has emerged by differentiation from forms and genres adopted by the sophistic movement, as we can observe them in the medical *epideixeis* of the Hippocratic Corpus or in the ‘Old Oligarch’, which has been described as a ‘political essay’. For example, the sophistic fragment *Κατὰ τῶν ἀρμονικῶν* treats musicological questions in an epideictic manner. See West (1992) 16–23; Kerferd/Flashar (1998) 104; Meißner (1999) 159, Anm. 146. Such a hypothesis could explain some similarities of epideictic Hippocratic texts, e.g., *De flatibus* (cf. Althoff [1995] 87, 184–5), and Peripatetic *pragmateia*. The *Dissoi logoi*, for example, a sophistic *epideixis* from about 400 BC (see Thomas [2003] 183–4; for the date Becker & Scholz [2004] 16–17; for context Scholz [2003] 216–25), clearly show in closing formulas and immanent dialogue certain parallels with Peripatetic texts (closing formulas 1.15 [p. 52 Becker & Scholz], 2.23 [p. 62–63], 3.15 [p. 68], 6.13 [p. 82]; immanent or sometimes even elaborate scene-like dialogue in 1.12 [p. 52 Becker & Scholz], 2.21f. [p. 60–61], 4.4 [p. 70], 5.7 [p. 74–75], 7.1ff. [p. 84]).

<sup>36</sup> I borrow the term from Markus Dubischar’s forthcoming book on such texts. Dubischar includes commentaries which I will leave aside in what follows.



other, which is most obviously the case with *De poetis* and the *Poetics*. In such cases, neither one is a product by differentiation of the other, but within the context of communication they provide complementary information and treatment in such a way that, taken together, they cover the complete spectrum, from entertainment to scholarly explanation. I am ready to admit that the exact relationships between all of these genres are of course a matter of speculation and that many problems remain. But the basic mechanism of differentiation appears to be both obvious and without alternative. The model presented is only a detail, to be understood as a small part of a background of knowledge-transmitting communication.

So far I have sketched out a system of genres in the early Peripatos. The main changes in the Peripatetic mode of treatment took place after Aristotle. Not much remains to judge from except titles and fragments, usually not large enough to allow for textual analysis. Nonetheless, one can try to follow the history of differentiated genres through the generations:<sup>37</sup> what happens to this carefully calibrated system of research-genres? If I am not mistaken, the established system of genres lives on. All the texts the titles of which are transmitted as *περί τινος* were probably either *pragmateiai* or, less frequently, dialogues. Among Ariston of Ceos' works, *σχολαί* and *διατριβαί* are attested, probably lectures, again a differentiation of the existing *pragmateia* (which, in principle, might conversely be the genre from which the *pragmateia* emerged by differentiation).

Collections are still en vogue, but now they also collect full texts, e.g. speeches, such as the *sunagōgai* of Demetrius of Phalerum, or of letters, such as the ones of Strato to Arsinoe, probably didactic letters. A new way of looking at nature becomes very popular, new at least in the Peripatos, the collection of 'astounding things' (*mirabilia*, *θαυμάστιά*);<sup>38</sup> nonetheless, the form in which it is presented, the collection, is traditional. Condensation becomes more and more popular: Heracles

<sup>37</sup> Despite several problems, one of which is our ignorance regarding date and exact place of most writings, the *Hippocratic Corpus* remains a close parallel.

<sup>38</sup> To me it is an open question, how the content of *mirabilia* is related to the one of *problemata physica*, some of which can certainly assume a similar perspective. Most of the *mirabilia* extant, however, seem to be spin-offs from geographical knowledge, often acquired through texts (see for example Callimachus fr. 407 Pfeiffer = 481 Asper = Antigonos, *Rerum mirabilium collectio* 129–173 ed. O. Musso), none of which holds for *problemata physica*.



of Lembos is credited with condensations of Aristotle’s *Politeiai*, of the biographical works of Satyrus and Sotion, and of some texts by Hermippus. Nicolaus of Damascus apparently provided the *telos* of this process, by summarizing the whole doctrine of Aristotle in one text (Περὶ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίας).<sup>39</sup> New is the career of biography. Already Aristoxenus of Tarentum had authored biographies of Telestes, Archytas, Socrates, and Plato; Phaenias (36–37 = fr. 30–31 Wehrli) wrote a collection of Socratics’ lives, Chamaeleon of poets’; Satyrus, Hermippus, and Sotion specialized on biographies in differing formats.

The diagram in fig. 2 is, thus, in need of some additions, mainly in the right margin. While most genres probably live on, works of reference and visualizations apparently die out. *Mirabilia* and, above all, *Lives* become productive in further differentiation. From a purely formal perspective, both should be seen as collections, I assume, just as *politeiai* and doxographical collections. All of this adds up to the following tabula:

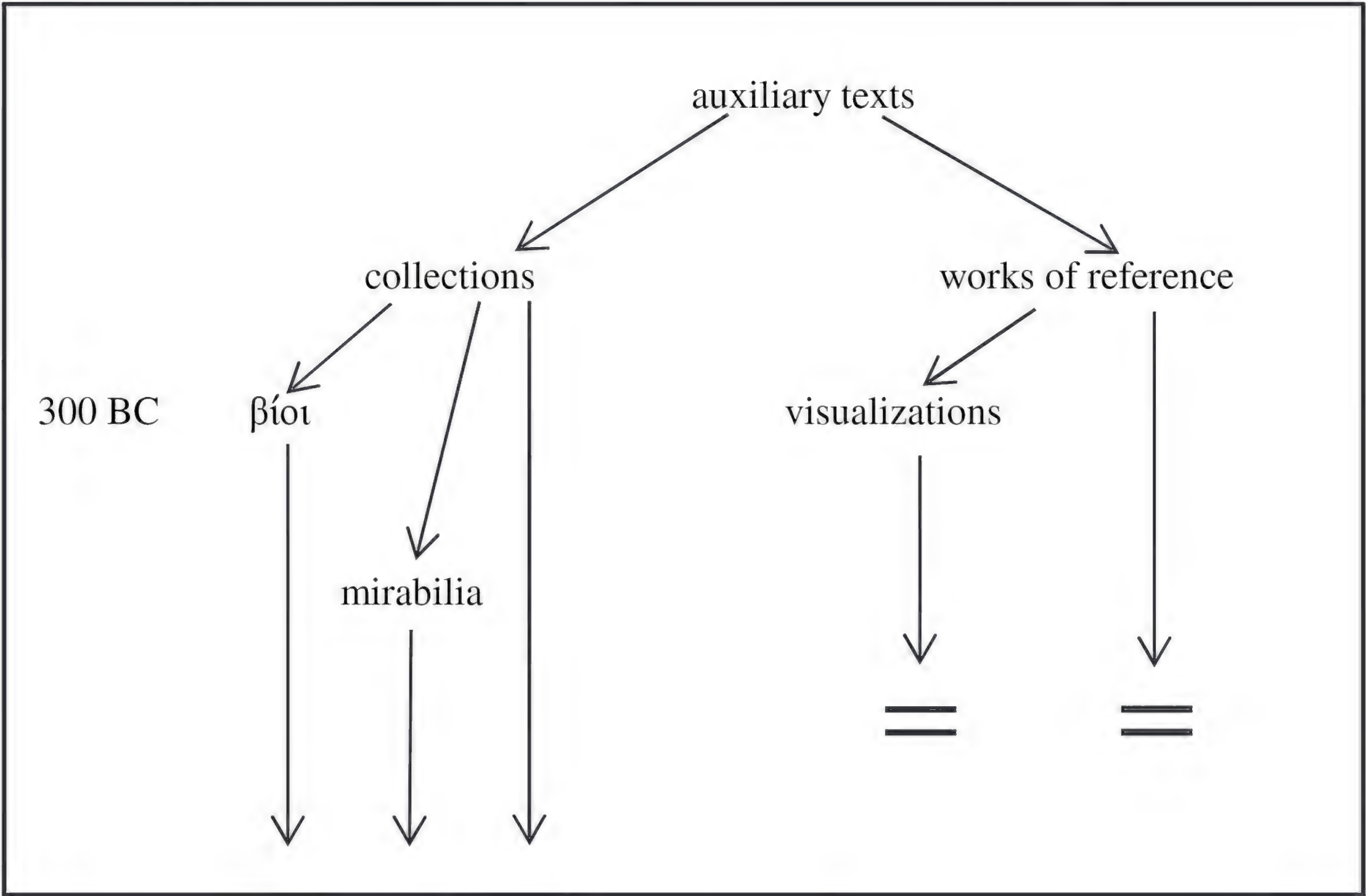


Fig. 3: Differentiation of auxiliary texts in the Peripatos later than 320 BC

<sup>39</sup> See Wehrli, Wöhrle & Zhmud (2004) 639.



Due to its increased literary character, however, the genre of *Lives* becomes functionally close to either historiography or the novel, especially since the focus of biography is primarily ethical. (Thus, the pigeon-hole 'auxilium' becomes truly problematic). The case of *Lives* demonstrates that differentiation by itself does not produce tidy lines of genres, but that differentiation can also take place across the whole spectrum of literature, at which point radically new genres emerge<sup>40</sup> (which are bound to disrupt my rather primitive attempts at two-dimensional visualization; three dimensions would be more appropriate).

Following this approach, one would have to surrender an exclusive focus on Peripatetic writers and open the field to competing traditions. Probably, one would arrive in late antiquity at a stage when condensations and auxiliary texts, including commentaries, have integrated almost all other genres. On the one hand, that would be the end of the history of differentiation in Greek philosophical and scientific writing. On the other hand, these groups would exhibit internal differences, from which new histories of differentiation may be constructed that, by way of medieval and early modern scholarly culture, have influenced the modern system of genres in scholarship and science.

### 3. A systems-theory approach

It has, I think, become evident that the forms through which the Peripatos engages in written communication show a tendency towards increasing differentiation. New forms emerge of which some undergo further differentiation while others do not. Now, why does this process take place at all? Why is it that someone like Clearchus can write 'different things,' as the Suda states, which I take to mean, *have a choice* of forms and formats? As such this development has been diagnosed before; however, it has usually been understood as a phenomenon of disintegration and, thus, of 'philosophical decline' instead one of progress.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Such as the experimental *Problemata mechanica*, which present a new form, a typical early Hellenistic cross-breed, to utilize the worn-out metaphor coined by Wilhelm Kroll which is nonetheless apt here, based upon mathematical *stoikheia* and collections of *problemata*.

<sup>41</sup> Wehrli, Wöhrle & Zhmud (2004) 499; but see *ibid.* 507.

How to explain such a process of differentiation? Most answers of similar tendencies in different domains have addressed factors external to the literary system:<sup>42</sup> (1) One could claim that communicative needs create communicative forms, in this case, textual genres. This position, which is essentially essentialist, denies the fact that form has a message by itself, and sees it exclusively as implied by the content of what is communicated. Especially among old-school historians of mathematics and science, this approach is popular. The more recent turn towards rhetorics of science attempts to understand the importance of form as a strategic choice on behalf of the author.<sup>43</sup> (2) One can see the character or taste of the authors in question as the reason of ongoing differentiation of form and content. Since we, however, do not know anything reliable about them as human beings, we have only re-phrased the problem, but not explained it. We would have to reconstruct the authors from their writings in order to explain the form of the latter, which is, of course, a circular argument. (3) Another attempt to come to terms with form describes and understands it as an expression of a social function. Where and when this function changes, the form would be expected to change with it. Thus, we can expect new contexts of knowledge to lead to new forms of communicating this knowledge.<sup>44</sup> It is true that the Peripatos as an institution underwent a process of change that must have somehow corresponded to changing audiences. Nonetheless, since it remains difficult or even impossible to qualify these changes in a way meaningful for our purposes, such an approach means to juggle too many unknowns.

There exist, however, factors that are intrinsic to the literary system and that influence or even determine the ongoing differentiation of research and its forms of communication. In order to get a hold of these factors, in what follows I will approach the problem, tentatively, with some instruments adopted from 'systems theory', a descriptive approach to social systems which has in the last decades been applied to both modern sciences and arts, including literature.<sup>45</sup> The approach

<sup>42</sup> I keep this account as general as I can. The reader may or may not discern overlaps with his own disciplinary culture.

<sup>43</sup> See e.g. Gross (1990) 202–205; (2006) 3–45.

<sup>44</sup> See Asper (2007a) 19 ff. One finds insightful remarks on new text-forms such as e-mails and 'collective texts' in Rheinberger (2003) who plausibly posits that these new forms are due to institutional change and, obviously, technical innovation.

<sup>45</sup> See now Dubischar (forthcoming), 185–193.



is based on a perspective that claims that the Peripatos, whatever else it was, can also be understood and described as a communicative system. Obviously, one can look at the Peripatos in different ways, e.g., as a bunch of intellectually active individuals, as a group of people at Athens and, later, other places, or as a series of scholars with their respective entourage, adding up to a *diadokhē*. All of these are perfectly legitimate approaches. To understand the Peripatos as a system of communication, however, means to take a step back from individuals and research problems, and focus on the school as a zone, probably in itself differentiated according to time and place, within which communication must have been different from the communication going on across its boundaries. Internal, that is, Peripatetic communication might have been different according to form (e.g. the *pragmateia*), content (e.g. zoology of fish), register, etc.<sup>46</sup> Such a zone must have been demarcated from the outside in ways impossible to reconstruct in detail. Certainly, it made a difference in many respects whether one, as a Peripatetic, addressed fellow members of the ‘school’ or audiences beyond the boundary. The traditional construct of a clear divide between esoteric and exoteric writings claims exactly such a boundary. In order to describe such a zone as a system of communication, not much more is necessary than to discern such a difference between inside and outside. Essentially, this kind of boundary is given already with the notion of the ‘school’ as a somehow identifiable group, whatever its precise institutional character was like in the times of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

Systems theory à la Luhmann has described such identifiable zones (‘systems’) of communication as (a) differentiated, that is, marked-off in some way, as (b) autopoietic, and as (c) verging towards further differentiation. My claim is that these three features describe Peripatetic communication accurately. Such communication is:

(a) differentiated, that is, marked-off. Both science and literature understand and describe themselves as systems of communication that are different from their contexts in so far as they follow certain rules that are specific to them. We find good examples in the normative aspects of the *Second Analytics* or the *Poetics*. In both cases, these aspects carefully spell out what communication must look like in order

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Föllinger’s work on orality in Aristotle, now conveniently summed up in her (2012) esp. 240.

to qualify as *epistēmē* or as *poiesis*, that is, to be different from their respective communicative context. These discourses, however, are *constituted* by following such boundary-making rules: science (*epistēmē*) itself, as a social field, decides what qualifies as a scientifically relevant fact or a methodically correct explanation; in the same way, literature itself, as a social field, decides whether or not a text is a novel and whether it will be published. Such zones or systems have emerged and exist precisely because they are regulated by rules and standards that are valid only within the system itself.<sup>47</sup>

(b) ‘autopoetic’, that is, self-observing and self-producing. At least to a certain extent, these systems construct the reality which they communicate about. Admittedly, science does not itself produce the facts which are object and starting-point of its communication, that is, there is reality independent from the scientific observer, but it nonetheless constructs these facts in a way that enables them to become objects of the communication of the marked-off system ‘science’: a scientific fact has to meet certain standards in order to be accepted as ‘real’. Only then can the scientist experience, describe, store, and explain it, in other words, treat it as fact. This structure which is to some extent circular becomes most obvious in scientific experiments. Facts that have not undergone such processes of validation cannot become objects of scientific communication. Similar structures determine the literary fact and, in general, the facts in art:<sup>48</sup> the social systems of literature and, more generally, art, will not communicate about just any object, but only about such objects that congrue with what is relevant. The system decides and determines what qualifies to be object of its communication. Thus, such systems work in an autopoetic manner, which means that they communicate about objects that are, to a large extent, constructs of the same communication.<sup>49</sup>

Peripatetic writing shows similar structures, perhaps less clearly, but nonetheless there: communication concerns certain facts or problems that have been collected, most obviously in collections such as problems, *mirabilia* or facts of a certain kind, such as the *Historia animalium* or *plantarum*. Obviously, these are the results of preceding

<sup>47</sup> For modern science see Stichweh (1988); for German literature see Sill (2001).

<sup>48</sup> See Luhmann (2000) 90–91.

<sup>49</sup> See Stichweh (1987/1994) on the emergence of the modern research article; famously, Fleck (1979) on facts in science.



communicative acts (no collection without collector), and will thus become the focus of further communication such as explanation: no explanation without explananda.

Perhaps 'autopoietic' is too radical a term for such an obvious relation. It may suffice, then, to describe the Peripatos as a self-observing system of communication: Whatever this system does as system (collecting, classifying, explaining), there are participants who observe and evaluate these actions. The *Analytica posteriora* provides a clear example.<sup>50</sup> From these observations and evaluations, if they become relevant, rules emerge that determine the processes of finding and explaining facts. For example, the stone looked at by a Peripatetic is quite another thing than the same stone looked at, e.g., by a craftsman or a poet, presumably. The craftsman's stone will never become a Peripatetic fact and will thus not elicit scientific communication.

(c) moving towards functional differentiation: Why and how do systems develop, or what exactly are the dynamics of autopoietic activity? According to systems theory,<sup>51</sup> systems attempt to become and remain stable which implies that they develop towards increasing autonomy.<sup>52</sup> If the main character of being a system is a system-specific set of rules for processing input, one can understand autonomy as complete control over these rules within the system. Stability means the trivial fact that successful systems persist, even in a changing context. Within such parameters, differentiation is one of the main strategies that systems adopt in order to become stable. The more complex the system, the more fragile it becomes, because with increasing complexity successful communication within the system becomes less probable. That is why systems reduce complexity by differentiation, that is, specific parts of the system adopt certain tasks. Thus, differentiation reduces complexity, because specific problems are met with specific solutions in specialized parts of the whole system. In these less complex and specialized parts of systems the chances for the successful solving of specific problems are much

<sup>50</sup> Systems theory claims that observation implies self-referentiality (Luhmann [2003] 73), which could put into relief some scholarly discussions about fourth-century and Hellenistic literature in general.

<sup>51</sup> Skeptics might object that the typical set of claims offered by systems theory concerning standard features of systems are based on insufficient observation.

<sup>52</sup> For imperial Greek literature on science see Asper (2007a) 375.

better.<sup>53</sup> For example, the field (‘social system’) of mathematics treats a certain set of questions (mathematics), to which it applies a certain class of experts, the mathematicians who communicate by a specialized set of tools and media which follow system-specific rules of argument and problem-solving, all of which makes up mathematics as a field. Outside of this field, it is often impossible to communicate about mathematical problems, let alone their solutions.<sup>54</sup> Terminology is, in this respect, a useful index of on-going differentiation.<sup>55</sup>

Τί δὲ πρὸς τὸν περίπατον; Many of the features that are typical for Peripatetic research, both its structures, e.g. specialization, division of fields in sub-fields, and its methods, e.g. *diairesis*, seem to me to fit the descriptive mold of differentiation. My subject in this paper is, however, not the Peripatos as an institution, but its forms of research-literature. It is quite obvious, I hope, that the quickly-unfolding landscape of Peripatetic forms meant to address specific realms and functions of Peripatetic research follows the logic of differentiation as outlined above. The functional diversification and increasing unfolding of forms in Peripatetic literature, which I have tried to describe above, are to be explained as phenomena of stabilization and as the desire for autonomy of parts of the system (in the same way as the phenomenon of on-going specialization in modern scholarship and science).<sup>56</sup> At least, I hope, it will be uncontroversial to understand the formal development of Peripatetic research-focused communication as functional differentiation: consider, e.g., advertising introductions, discussion of the precise meaning of much-used terms, or diagrams, which were all part of one argument and which then became stable as autonomous texts, namely the protreptic, the lexicon or a collection of diagrams.<sup>57</sup> These new forms do not emerge out of the blue and without formal pre-history, but as differentiations of these forms from

<sup>53</sup> See Jahraus (2001) 125 for ‘Riepl’s Law’, according to which new media or text-forms do not erase old ones, but specify them.

<sup>54</sup> Compare e.g. terms and problems such as *περὶ ἀτόμων γραμμῶν* or Nicomedes’ *κογχοειδεῖς γραμμαί* or ‘foliations of 3-manifolds which are circle bundles’ (the title of William Thurston’s PhD dissertation, Berkeley 1972).

<sup>55</sup> See the very useful survey in Netz (2009) 149–160 on Greek mathematical terminology in Hellenistic times, although he is not interested in differentiation.

<sup>56</sup> Stichweh (1994) 362–378.

<sup>57</sup> The *Corpus Hippocraticum* and the *Corpus Galenicum* do exhibit similar tendencies of functional differentiation.



contexts in which they were secondary to a context in which they are primary, that is, autonomous. In a parallel manner, specialists emerge within the Peripatos, e.g. Straton ὁ φυσικός.

#### 4. Conclusion

Systems theory was developed in order to describe and explain modern societies, where ‘modern’ means ‘functionally differentiated’ as opposed to ‘stratified’.<sup>58</sup> While a historian would oppose the idea that there is a neat distinction between stratified and functionally differentiated societies and while one would guess that most societies are a variable mix of the two, one cannot deny that fourth-century Athenian society, as little as we know of its social structure, was less differentiated than modern societies. It therefore remains doubtful whether or not we can use systems theory at all with respect to the problem outlined above. On the other hand, systems theory is about understanding communication and its differentiation as a function of systems, and thus applies exactly to the differentiation of research communication in the Peripatos and to histories of communication in the past in general. At least as a heuristic approach, that is, with a focus on its descriptive instead of its explanatory aspects, systems theory can contribute to the discussion.<sup>59</sup> I will finish with discussing a few loose ends.

(a) The claim that research production and accordingly its forms undergo differentiation is of course not exclusively true for the Peripatos. The outline given above could also be applied to, e.g., the Hippocratic Corpus, the school of Epicurus and especially Philodemus, and to imperial schools and individuals, notably to Galen. Nonetheless, the Peripatos invites such approaches, because there remains a good deal of information stretched over many individuals and concentrated in a rather short time.

(b) Perhaps one might see a problem in the discussion of self-differentiating forms of research communication, rather than research itself which is the topic of this volume. I have a two-fold reply to this: first, in the realm of ancient ‘science’, text is usually all that remains,

<sup>58</sup> See e.g. Luhmann (1984/1995) 425–6.

<sup>59</sup> For two recent attempts to do that in a wider context see Dubischar (forthcoming, ch. 4.2.3) and Asper (2007) e.g. 13–18, 372–374.

almost comparable to fossils. Second, even with respect to more recent science, the research media are not to be separated from research itself. Discovery and the means to communicate that discovery, especially in writing, are not always, and perhaps never, two clearly separable acts. The activity of discovery is shot through with communication, and especially the so-called act of ‘writing-up’ is often more a last step towards discovery than a contingent part of mere communication about discovery. It is the writing-up, especially in competitive contexts, that forces the researcher to present an account that withstands critical enquiry; it is, thus, the writing-up that enforces explanation, objectivizing description, definition, and so forth. The scientist *really* thinks about what she has found not when finding it but when being forced to present and thus explain it, even only to herself.<sup>60</sup> Such a complex practice of finding-plus-explaining determines the structure of what counts for a result, which has to fit the communicative frame of the practice: I have not discovered what I cannot communicate. In that respect, communication about research gives a true representation of its objects, the ‘facts’. In fact, one should rather say that the two are not to be separated.

(c) Could one envision the ongoing differentiation of communicative forms in science and perhaps even of the history of science itself in terms of biological evolution? The parallels are suggestive and thus, many theorists, such as Kuhn, Luhmann, Stichweh, and Ziman, have played with the idea.<sup>61</sup> I believe, however, that the parallels hold only in so far one can describe both ‘histories’ with the terms and tools of systems theory, that is, as histories of differentiation(s). In fact, both describe autopoietic processes that themselves produce at least part of their dynamics.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See Holmes (1987) on Lavoisier, Réaumur, and Krebs; esp. his quote of Krebs (226: “[...] I find in general only when one tries to write it up, then I do find the gaps. I cannot complete a piece of work and then sit down and write.”). Compare Holmes’s own summary (229): “Far from being a distorted version of something the scientist has already done, the scientific paper is an essential phase of the investigation itself. Writing the paper is a central act within the creative process.” Heintz (2000) 162–176 reports the same about contemporary mathematicians; see e.g. 169.

<sup>61</sup> History (of science) as evolution: e.g., Kuhn (1962/1970) 172, Luhmann (1981) 120, 129; Stichweh (1990/1994) 85. What Luhmann (1997) 451–456 says about social evolution can be transferred to history of culture; see also Elwert (1987) 260; Roberts (1996) 300; in general Ziman (2000).

<sup>62</sup> Luhmann (1981) 195.



(d) To end with ends: It is quite suggestive to think of emerging and ever-increasing communication as self-differentiating system(s). But how does self-differentiating communication end? Besides the trivial fact that the communicating system can collapse, become part of other systems or vanish, it is more interesting to account for dead ends and shifts. Why, with respect to my fig. 3 above, does the differentiation of reference-works end? Paradoxically, I think that the reason is that it was successful. Since differentiation of communication responds to communicative problems, if a problem is solved for good, that means that there is no need to communicate about it any more. In terms of ancient zoology, such a state has apparently been reached by the combination of *HA* and *Anatomai*.

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